



Newspapers In Education

The Seattle Times

Inspiring Students To Learn

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN Asia



A Newspapers In Education
program for Grades 9 - 12



EDUCATORS

SOCIAL STUDIES/CURRENT EVENTS

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Newspapers In Education

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NIE Program Evaluation

We value your feedback on our programs.

Please complete and return this form to NIE at the address listed below.

Program Name: Continuity and Change in Asia

Grade Level Taught: _____ Name (optional): _____

Program/Educational Objectives

1. Did you feel the educational materials for this program:

- ☐ Exceeded expectations
☐ Met expectations
☐ Did not meet expectations

Comments: _____

2. Did you feel the learning materials met state standards/aligned with your curricula?

- ☐ Strongly Agree
☐ Agree
☐ Disagree
☐ Strongly Disagree
☐ Don't Know

Comments: _____

3. Do you feel this program challenged your students and developed their skills?

- ☐ Strongly Agree
☐ Agree
☐ Disagree
☐ Strongly Disagree
☐ Don't Know

Comments: _____

4. What learning materials from this program were you able to use in your classroom?

- ☐ Newspaper
☐ In-paper curricula (NIE articles)
☐ Lesson Plan
☐ Teacher/Student Guide
☐ Other: _____

Newspaper Use

1. Did the use of the newspaper enhance your students' learning experience?

- ☐ Strongly Agree
☐ Agree
☐ Disagree
☐ Strongly Disagree
☐ Don't Know

Comments: _____

2. Do you feel that the newspaper-based activities in the in-paper NIE articles helped support the learning objectives of the program?

- ☐ Strongly Agree
☐ Agree
☐ Disagree
☐ Strongly Disagree
☐ Don't Know

Comments: _____

3. How often did you use the newspaper with this program?

- ☐ Daily
☐ Three times a week
☐ Twice a week
☐ Once a week
☐ Other: _____

Return completed evaluation form ...

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Thank You.

Essential Academic Learning Requirements

The following lessons meet these Essential Academic Learning Requirements (EALRs) for the State of Washington. For more information about the standards, visit:
www.k12.wa.us/CurriculumInstruct/EALR_GLE.aspx

Social Studies

1. Inquiry and Information Skills

- a. Students will identify key words; use advanced search strategies; independently locate appropriate and varied information sources; evaluate primary/secondary sources. (EALR 1.1.3b)
- b. Produce and interpret outlines, charts, graphs, maps, tables, timelines and decision making grids that explain problems and/or construct solutions.

2. Discussion Skills

- a. Students will articulate a particular perspective/value orientation; demonstrate content knowledge; listen critically and build upon the ideas of others. (EALR 2.1.2a)

3. Critical Thinking Skills

- a. Students will identify multiple perspectives. (EALR 3.1.4a)
- b. Recognize stereotypes, clichés, bias, and propaganda techniques. (EALR 3.1.4b)
- c. Reconstruct and express multiple points of view and integrate an historic, geographic, civic, or economic perspective. (EALR 3.1.4f)

Communication

1. Communicating Clearly and Effectively

- a. Students will use logic, arguments, or appeals to persuade others; vary speech to create effect and aid communication. (EALR 2.3)

2. Working With Others

- a. Students will use language to influence others. (EALR 3.1)
- b. Work cooperatively as a member of a group. (EALR 3.2)

3. Analyze Mass Communication

- a. Students will identify and evaluate complex techniques used in mass communication; analyze and explain the effectiveness of such methods; and analyze and interpret the influence of media sources. (EALR 4.3)

Reading

1. Comprehension

- a. Students will expand comprehension by analyzing, interpreting, and synthesizing information and ideas in literary and informational text. (EALR 2.3)
- b. Students will think critically and analyze author's use of language, style, purpose and perspective in informational and literary text. (EALR 2.4)
- c. Students will read to learn new information. (EALR 3.1)

Writing

1. Forms

- a. Students will write for a variety of purposes (to summarize, to create, to entertain, to inform, etc.). (EALR 2.2)
- b. Students will write in a variety of forms. (EALR 2.3)

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
in Asia**About the Series and Study Guide for
Continuity and Change in Asia****OVERVIEW OF THEMES**

This study guide works in conjunction with the eight-article series, *Continuity and Change in Asia*. The series and the guide address three broad themes in a study of power and politics in twentieth- and twenty-first century Asia: Legacies of Imperialism and Colonialism; Women's Rise to Power, and Emerging Voices. Each theme richly demonstrates continuity and change within Asia, emphasizing the need for a deep historical and cultural approach to an understanding of current events.

The first theme is "Legacies of Imperialism and Colonialism." By the turn of the twentieth century, many Asian countries were controlled by imperialist and colonial powers that had come to their shores eager to claim resources for economic gain. Japan escaped this fate and instead joined imperialist powers in taking over parts of Asia for its own interests. "Legacies" looks at three powers whose contemporary political systems formed in the wake of WWII — China, India, and Japan — and traces the impacts of the imperialist period on these nations today. The guide in particular focuses on current inter-Asian relations as well as U.S. relations with these Asian nations.

The second theme, "Women's Rise to Power," looks at political leadership through the complex lens of women leaders in South and Southeast Asia. The high position individual women have attained in politics in these regions — often as a result of familial ties to powerful men — simultaneously challenges and supports the gender hierarchy. "Women's Rise" reflects on precedents for women's political leadership, and the paradox of strong female leaders and the often low social status of women found throughout the region. Lessons in the guide ask students to grapple with this paradox and contemplate the impacts of women's leadership in Indonesia and India.

The third theme, "Emerging Voices," discusses ordinary citizens who have raised their voices to influence politics and policy in the countries in which they live. The series and guide look at the political activism of a diverse cross-section of groups: Indonesian artists, mothers and women's groups; Indian Dalits, formerly known as "those from the 'Untouchable' caste"; and four generations of Chinese youth. No matter what the political system, individual voices have found a way to be heard. "Emerging Voices" highlights the individuals and issues these movements have championed while giving students a window into Asian societies.

USING THE STUDY GUIDE

The series and lessons are intended to spark students' interest in current events in Asia and to give them the historical and cultural background they need to understand some of the power dynamics they read about in the newspaper. The study guide is made up of nine lessons, including a pre-unit introductory lesson and one lesson for use in conjunction with each of the eight articles. All sources included or referenced are available on the Internet as free public access. Where possible, all documents have been included although homework activities frequently require students to research topics on the Internet.



Continuity and Change in Asia

A CURRICULUM GUIDE

CONTRIBUTING AUTHORS

The series and study guide, *Continuity and Change in Asia*, is a collaborative project of the Asia centers of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington. Four centers made the series possible: The East Asia Center, The East Asia Resource Center, The South Asia Center and the Southeast Asian Center. Faculty and outreach staff who wrote articles and made contributions to the study guide include: Mary Hammond Bernson, Mary Cingcade, Craig Jeffrey, Robert Pekkanen, Laurie Sears, Tikka Sears, Mia Siscawati, Keith Snodgrass and Virginia Van Dyke. Other contributions to this project were made by Kristin Chaney, Madeleine Dong, Kristi Roundtree and Sara Van Fleet. The editor of the series and the study guide is Mary Cingcade.

ABOUT THE EDUCATIONAL SPONSORS

**The Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (JSIS),
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Lesson 1

Orientations: Maps, Timelines and Country Profiles

DESCRIPTION

This pre-unit lesson provides students with a basic introduction to the political histories and systems of Asia in the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries. Students will identify Asian countries on a blank map, discuss the importance of learning about Asia and create a timeline of major political events in modern Asian history that will serve as a supplementary frame of reference for the unit.

OBJECTIVES

- Identify Asian countries on a blank map of Asia and discuss the importance of understanding Asia today
- Analyze a timeline of U.S. history to identify U.S. involvement in Asia during the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries
- Create a timeline of political events in Asia to build on and use as a reference for the remainder of the unit
- Understand basic differences and similarities among political systems of Asian nations

FOCUS QUESTIONS

Why is it important to study Asia?

What are the major milestones in the political history of Asia?

What are some key differences/similarities among Asian nations today?

MATERIALS

- Copies of a blank map of Asia for the entire class: (Recommended web source)
geography.about.com/library/blank/blxasia.htm

- Various sources of timelines of U.S. history such as students' textbooks or online resources (one source is recommended in the lesson)
- Internet Access
- Copies of Handout 1A for each student

ACTIVITIES

1. In pairs, ask students to write down as many Asian countries as they can and to label countries on the blank map of Asia. For the newspaper article series, *Continuity and Change in Asia*, students will read about many countries in East, South and Southeast Asia, including China, Japan, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines. Have students star these countries on their maps.
2. Discuss with students. Why it is important to understand Asia today? How many reasons can students come up with?
3. Introduce the topic of the article series: *Continuity and Change in Asia* will look at power and politics in twentieth- and twenty-first century Asia. Each week students will learn a little more about these Asian countries, from political conflicts to individual activists, which will help them read about and form opinions about current events in Asia.
4. To help students get started, take a look at a timeline that shows U.S. history in the twentieth- and twenty-first century. The World Almanac for Kids Web site has a very basic one: www.worldalmanacforkids.com/explore/timeline3.html. Mark the events that involve Asia. How many Asian countries were involved? Are there events or other interactions, such as trade and military alliances, that are missing? Does it surprise students how much U.S. history is intertwined with Asia?

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Lesson 1 continued

Orientations: Maps, Timelines and Country Profiles

ACTIVITIES (continued)

5. Using textbooks and other sources such as the BBC News Country Profiles Timelines at news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/country_profiles/default.stm to create a wall-sized timeline of twentieth- and twenty-first century Asian history that shows major events. Teachers may want to break students into fact-finding groups for each country.

(On the timeline, leave room in each period to make additions, and be sure to include space for pre-twentieth-century events and lots of room for the present. Students will add to the timeline throughout the next eight weeks of the article series.) Have students start by marking the dates that the current governments were founded. What type of governments does each country have? What wars or conflicts have these countries been involved in? What changes in leadership need to be noted on the timeline? What other major events should be included? (Such as economic reforms, natural disasters, etc.)

6. For homework, students can continue their fact-finding for the timeline activity. If they complete the extension country profile activity, a sampling of those profiles can be incorporated into the timeline under "present day."

EXTENSION

For homework, have students create a comparative profile of their country using Handout 1A, an additional source for country profiles is Asia Source at www.asiasource.org/profiles

Handout 1A

Country Comparisons Assignment

Introduction:

Create a comparative country profile using data from the United Nations Web site. An online database will calculate data for you based on the countries you select. Follow the directions below to find your data and create your profile.

Instructions:

1. Visit the United Nations cyberschoolbus Web site at www.un.org/pubs/cyberschoolbus/infonation3/basic.asp
2. In section one on the Web site, select six countries you want to compare. For this article series, you might choose China, India, Indonesia, Japan, the Philippines and the U.S. Other Asian countries referred to in the series are Korea, Malaysia and Thailand. Click "Go" in the right upper corner.
3. In the next section labeled "Select Data," use the drop down menus to select the category you want and the statistic you want. See below for a list of data you will need.
4. Select one country you will write a comparative profile for. Record your data for that country in the chart below.
5. Write a one-paragraph description about your country using the data and ranking information you collected.

Data to collect:

What six countries did you choose?

Category/Statistic	Your country: _____	Your country's ranking 1 – 6 (1 is highest, 6 is lowest)
POPULATION/Population in 2003		
POPULATION/Population in 2025		
ECONOMY/gdp		
ECONOMY/poverty rate		
TECHNOLOGY/internet users		
ENVIRONMENT/commercial energy consumption		
Free choice:		



Legacies of Imperialism and Colonialism in Asia

Lessons 2 – 4 address the theme of legacies of imperialism and colonialism from the perspective of three Asian nations: China, India and Japan. The three articles and corresponding lessons provide three very different lenses for students to view imperialism and its impact on each of these countries and their relations with each other and the Western world. In each case, students will observe continuities as well as breaks with the power dynamics of the past.



Lesson 2

Historical Memory and China's Interpretation of Its Past

DESCRIPTION

For China, the twentieth century meant change on a massive scale. China's final dynasty fell in 1911, ushering in a period of instability that would last through the first half of the century as China fought internal wars, world wars and foreign control of sections of its territory. Now, fifty years since the end of World War II and nearly fifty since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, historical memories and unresolved issues from that period still color foreign relations. This lesson asks students to delve into the topic of historical memory and its influence on the interpretation of the past and present. Students will explore the concept of historical memory, investigate the role of historical memory in China's interpretation of recent events, and examine the nature of historical memory in China-Japan relations.

OBJECTIVES

In this lesson, students:

- Discuss and define the concept of historical memory
- Evaluate the significance of historical memory for China's interpretation of select recent events
- Debate the significance of a critique of the historical memory of China-Japan relations using critical thinking skills
- Write a short essay that evaluates the importance of historical memory to current events and provides evidence from the lesson

FOCUS QUESTIONS

What is historical memory? Why is it important?

What impacts and influences does historical memory have on current events?

How does historical memory impact the collective identity of a nation?

MATERIALS

- Copies of Handout 2A for the entire class
- Internet Access (for homework exercise)

ACTIVITIES

1. Write the following list of events in local, US, and world history from the last century on the board. Ask students to write one or two words next to each event that best describes the crux of the event in their opinion. Give an example and practice out loud with students: Next to The Iraq War, what would students put? Responses might include meaningful descriptors such as "lies," "controversy," "democracy," and "security." Have each student work quietly on the list:
 - The Holocaust
 - The Bombing of Hiroshima
 - The Vietnam War
 - The Civil Rights Movement
 - September 11
 - Super Bowl XL
 - (Name of a charged incident at the school)
2. Debrief student responses. The point is not to debate responses but to observe similarities and differences. Were there many similar responses for each event? Could you categorize the group's responses for each event? Why are there many responses that are similar?
3. Introduce the concept of historical memory. The way events in our history and our collective experience are remembered and talked about are part of historical memory. Generally speaking, a culture and society develops some common interpretations for events that support a point of view. For controversial events, more than one point of view may be perpetuated in historical memory.

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**Lesson 2 continued****Historical Memory and China's Interpretation of Its Past**

Ask students to think about how historical memory is shaped and by whom? Responses might include books and media, government, people who were there and their accounts, historians, textbooks, propaganda, etc.

4. Read or refer back to the article in The Seattle Times on legacies of imperialism in China. What clues do you have about China's historical memory of this period of imperialism? The author implies that many events within the last several years convey something about the historical memory of this period:

- The 1997 handover of Hong Kong to the Chinese government
- Beijing winning the 2008 Olympics bid
- The 1999 NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade by an American plane
- China's perception that Japan has not properly apologized for wartime atrocities, referring to Anti-Japanese Protests in April of 2005
- The issue of Taiwan's sovereignty

5. Divide students into five groups. Assign each group one of the topics above. For homework, each student should do a search for an article or blurb about the event above and bring it to class. Possible sources of articles:

- Asia Source, see "Asia Today"
www.asiasource.org
- China Daily in English
www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/home/index.html
- People's Daily in English
english.peopledaily.com.cn
- Japan Focus
www.japanfocus.org
- Online news and journal databases such as Proquest at the public library

6. In class, groups should meet to discuss the articles they found. What evidence of the impact of historical memory of imperialism in China do they see? Students should prepare to present their event to the class and show the connection to historical memory.

7. Have groups report out. Debrief the findings from all groups with the class. Is historical memory neutral or does it sometimes serve an agenda? How are such memories perpetuated? Do you see any evidence that they change over time? What else influenced the outcome of the events?

8. Take the case of Sino-Japanese relations one step further. Pass out Handout 2A and ask students to read an engaging essay that puts Sino-Japanese relations in a different frame of historical reference. Discuss: Does Hoffman's interpretation of Sino-Japanese relations in the distant past put current events in a different light, or does it reinforce current interpretations of historical events? Why do you believe the current interpretation is still perpetuated today?

(Note that the issue of current Sino-Japanese relations has resurfaced repeatedly in the last year — students will read about it in two other articles in the series.)

EXTENSION

Choose a current event in another part of the world and note the role that historical memory has played in interpreting current events. See an example:

Eric Davis, "Report of a 2/17/04 'Beyond History and Memory' seminar," Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs

www.cceia.org/viewMedia.php/prmTemplateID/8/prmID/4955

**Handout 2A****"Cultures Combined in the Mists of Time: Origins of the China-Japan Relationship."** Excerpts from Michael Hoffman's article

Adopt "a correct view of history," China and South Korea demand of Japan. Fair enough. We can all agree on the merits of a "correct view" of anything. The difficulty is to define "correct." As the intensifying acrimony unfolds over who did what to whom and how horribly, you'd almost think historical relations between the three countries began in 1895, when newly Westernized Japan defeated China in Korea, and ended in 1945 with Japan prostrate and guilty at the end of World War II. That was a fateful half-century, to be sure. But among ancient nations that have known each other a very, very long time, a "correct view" cannot be a short one. To get the true flavor of things, we must go back to the beginning. It is hard to believe now, but some day — in 17 centuries, perhaps?

The Chinese had a name for the people of Japan long before the proto-Japanese had one for themselves. It was "Wa" or "Wo," written with a character that means "dwarf." "... The Wa," their Chinese observers noted, "are divided into 100 countries. Each year envoys from the Wa bring tribute." So reads the first known description of Japan in history, written by a Chinese chronicler in A.D. 82, centuries before the Japanese were literate.

The "100 countries" were apparently petty chiefdoms in northern Kyushu [Japan]. A century and a half later, a confederacy of some of these chiefdoms was ruled by the famous shaman-queen Himiko, or Pimiko, whose embassy to China in 238 appealed to [China's] Wei Dynasty emperor for help against her hostile neighbor, the "country" of Kunu. The Wei emperor Ming responded: "Herein we address Himiko, queen of Wa, whom we now officially call a friend of Wei. The Chinese record of the transaction proceeds with an itemized list of gifts. "You may exhibit them to your countrymen," the emperor concluded, "in order to demonstrate that our country thinks so much of you as to bestow such exquisite gifts upon you."

China was already ancient long before Japan emerged from pre-civilized infancy. By 5,000 B.C., the Chinese were organized in settled farming communities. By 1750 B.C. they had writing and bronze technology. By 700 B.C. they had iron — iron plows, iron weapons. Japan, all this time and for centuries to come, remained a Stone Age hunting-and-gathering backwater.

Half a century after Himiko, the Wa were at least important enough to the Wei Dynasty (one of six to fill a vacuum left by the fall of the Han in A.D. 220) to figure in the late-third-century "History of Three Kingdoms," written by Wei historian Chen Shou-yu. Deriving his information primarily from a Wei embassy to the Wa "country," ... Chen — in his chapter on "Eastern Barbarians" — describes a settled, peaceful and productive society: "They are a long-lived race, and persons who have reached 100 are very common. All men of high rank have four or five wives. ... the women are faithful and not jealous. There is no robbery or theft, and litigation is infrequent. ... taxes are collected. There are markets in each province ... "

After the Wei mission to Yamatai [Japan], communication between the two countries lapsed. When it resumed nearly two centuries later, Japan had grown. Known then as Yamato (a native Japanese name whose similarity to Yamatai is apparently coincidental), it was ready to embark on a serious apprenticeship to Chinese civilization — a civilization that, transplanted eastward, was to attain its full Japanese flowering in eighth-century Nara.

Though evidently powerful, Yamato in its early phase was hardly civilized. We look back at fourth-century Japan and are astonished at how little progress it had made — and that, roughly 1,000 years after Confucius and the Buddha and the founding of Rome. There are no cities to speak of, no roads or bridges worthy of the name, no writing. Then came the fifth and sixth centuries, and our astonishment redoubles, for they

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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
in Asia

Student Handout

Handout 2A continued

are all that stand between barbarian Japan and the splendors of the Nara Period (710-794). How did it leap so far, so fast? The answer, in three words, is: China and Korea. More accurately, perhaps: China via Korea.

Momentous developments lay ahead. China, re-unified in 589 under the Sui Dynasty, regained and then surpassed its ancient Han Era splendor. And Japan's Asuka Enlightenment, occurring almost simultaneously, inspired the breathtaking confidence which emboldened the Prince Regent Shotoku, the leading spirit of the age, to address the Sui emperor as an equal — "Child of Heaven" to "Child of Heaven." One may well imagine the astonishment of the Sui emperor Yang-ti when, in 607, Shotoku's envoy, Ono no Imoko, presented a memorial containing the words, "The Child of Heaven in the land where the sun rises addresses the Child of Heaven in the land where the sun sets." Was Wa being deliberately insulting, or did it simply not know its place? Somehow the clash was smoothed over.

[The Sui] was followed by the even more magnificent Tang. No nation ever set out with more eager, if patronizing, generosity than Tang China to teach the arts of civilization to its less-favored neighbors. And no acolyte nation was ever so avid a pupil as the newly sinicized Japan of the eighth and early ninth centuries. It is a development well worth pondering in our quest for that elusive "correct view" of history.

Chang'an, capital of Tang China, was in the seventh and eighth centuries the largest city on Earth. [Japan's city of] Nara, with its rectangular layout and broad avenues, was modeled on it, but hardly measured up. ... What Nara did have, beginning with its founding in 710, was a profusion of court officials steeped in Confucian protocol. They wore Chinese robes, wrote Chinese-language memorials, drafted Chinese-style laws and bore the Chinese ranks imported a century earlier by Prince Shotoku — "virtue," "benevolence," "propriety," "sincerity" and so on ...

The relationship that developed between the two countries was not belligerent-to-belligerent, or overlord-to-vassal, but the most extraordinary one (there can be few historical parallels at the national level) of teacher-to-pupil. Japan, it might be said,

attended the Chinese school of civilization in Chang'an.

Between 607 and 838, Japan sent 19 missions to China — on average, one every 12 years. Knowledge was the principal goal. Priests studied Buddhism; officials, government; doctors, medicine; painters, painting; and so on. To gauge the eagerness with which the wisdom China symbolized was pursued, one need only consider the hazards of the sea crossing. Nearly a third of those who set out never returned. [The monk] Kukai (also known as Kobo Daishi) traveled to Chang'an in 804 to study the esoteric Buddhist doctrine known in Japanese as Shingon (True Word). Most acolytes remained in China 20 years. Kukai stayed two. Chang'an offered, and Kukai was open to, experiences of all kinds, not only religious "One of the places he enjoyed visiting," writes Shiba, "was the West Market [at the terminus of the Silk Road] ... It was interesting to see how a caravan that had been traveling all the way from the lands unknown to him removed the bundles from the camels' backs. Another attraction was an open-air show of Persian girls dancing ... " All this must have astonished Kukai — not because he was a monk, but because he was from remote, insular Japan.

In 838, the missions to China abruptly ceased. The Tang empire was crumbling, piracy was rising, and in any case the time had come for Japan to withdraw and assimilate the vast amount it had learned. Withdrawal and assimilation are the themes of [Japan's] Heian Period, a 400-year surge of cultural creativity that began with the relocation of the capital to Kyoto in 794. Assimilating, Japan diverged. Heian was in a sense Japan's cultural declaration of independence from China, the first instance of an often-remarked genius for borrowing foreign forms and making something totally unique out of them. Official relations with China would not resume for 500 years.

Source: Excerpts from Michael Hoffman, "Cultures Combined in the Mists of Time: Origins of the China-Japan Relationship," Japan Focus, (February 3, 2006), www.japanfocus.org/article.asp?id=514 (accessed February 16, 2006).



Lesson 3

From the British Raj to the Brink of War: Fifty Years of India-Pakistan Relations

DESCRIPTION

In 1947, British colonial rule of India came to an end after nearly two hundred years. Outside of Asia, the Independence Movement and leadership of Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi stands out as the most significant episode of this period. Lesser known is the partition of India and Pakistan that resulted in the largest single migration in human history by upwards of ten million people. India-Pakistan relations have been fraught with tension ever since, particularly over the territory of Kashmir, which nearly erupted into nuclear war at the turn of the twenty-first century. This lesson asks students to look back to the colonial period to identify key events and outcomes, followed by a focus on India-Pakistan relations and the Kashmir issue, which remains unresolved to this day.

OBJECTIVES

- Identify important events during the colonial period and record them on the timeline created in Lesson 1
- Describe power dynamics between British and Indians during the colonial period
- Beginning with the final years of the British rule and the partition of India, research defining events in the history of India-Pakistan relations
- Write a persuasive essay about the most important factor in the conflict over Kashmir

FOCUS QUESTIONS

What were major characteristics of and events in British colonial rule of India?

How did India and Pakistan gain independence?

What is the history of India-Pakistan relations?

What is the nature of India-Pakistan relations today?

What is the importance of Kashmir to each nation?

What goals does the U.S. have in its relations with South Asia and vice versa?

MATERIALS

- Copies of Handouts 3B-3D for the class
- Internet Access

ACTIVITIES

1. Refer students back to the article on legacies of colonialism in India. Tell students that in this lesson they will investigate what British colonial rule was like and how India and Pakistan claimed their independence. Later on in the lesson, they will relate this piece of history to a contemporary conflict in the region that almost erupted into nuclear war: the conflict in Kashmir.
2. Using the article as well as a few other sources, ask students to find out what British colonial rule of India was like by culling articles for important events up to Indian and Pakistani independence in 1947. Add these events to the timeline students created in lesson one. An additional source is a Web site created by History Professor Vinday Lal: www.sscnet.ucla.edu/southasia/History/British/BrIndia.html

Questions for investigation:

- Why were the British in India?
- What kind of rulers did they make and how did Indians react to colonial rule?
- How did India and Pakistan become independent?

continued on next page

**Lesson 3 continued****From the British Raj to the Brink of War:
Fifty Years of India-Pakistan Relations**

3. Prepare students to write a persuasive essay on the causes of current India-Pakistan conflicts over the former princely state of Kashmir, which is controlled by India and Pakistan. Briefly present the conflict to students using the Teacher Background Essay 3A. Beginning with the final years of the British rule and the partition of India, ask students to research defining events in the history of India-Pakistan relations and write a persuasive essay about the most important factor in the conflict over Kashmir. Teachers may want to use the Washington State Classroom Based Assessments "Causes of Conflict" rubrics for research and writing. The essay outline is reproduced in Handout 3B.
3. View and compare cases of colonialism in Southeast Asia, described briefly in Handout 3D. What similarities and differences can students detect between colonialism in India and in parts of Southeast Asia? How did independence come about for those nations and what impacts from that period can be seen today?

EXTENSION

1. Trace media coverage of U.S. foreign relations with South Asian nations. What has been the nature and history of U.S. relations with Pakistan? What was the attitude of many Pakistanis to being made part of the U.S.-led War on Terror, particularly in regards to the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan? What is the nature of U.S. relations with India?
2. The role of Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi in the Independence Movement is claimed by many to serve as inspiration for similar social and political movements around the world. See the quotes in Handout 3C. Discuss with students: What do students think is compelling about Gandhi's point of view? In what country did Gandhi first start to use his methods of *satyagraha* (truth force)? What social movement followed a similar philosophy in United States history?



Teacher Background Essay 3A

Kashmir by GlobalSecurity.org

A United Nations (U.N.) resolution, adopted after the 1948 war between India and Pakistan over disputed Kashmir, allows the people of Kashmir to join either India or Pakistan. The United Nations had urged both countries to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir allowing people to choose which country they wanted to join with, but the plebiscite was never held.

The Kashmir dispute embodies Indo-Pakistani antagonism. The positions are clear-cut: India insists on maintaining the status quo, while Pakistan refuses to accept Indian jurisdiction and control. New Delhi regards Kashmir as an integral part of India while Islamabad insists that the dispute should be settled according to the terms of the resolution. Both countries reject total independence for Kashmir.

Initially, one could have described this dispute as a battle between Indian insistence on a secular approach and Pakistani guardianship of Muslim rights. However, Hindu-Muslim religious rivalry and the debates surrounding the original partition of India have ceased to be the focal point of this dispute. Over time, the ability of competing politicians in both countries to exploit this issue for political gain has eclipsed the secular-religious debate.

The concept of partition is anathema to Indians. Kashmir's symbolism to India is as critical a consideration as any security significance associated with this fragment of ice and rock threaded by a beautiful valley. India is unwilling to lose even one additional hectare of this land. New Delhi is also concerned that Kashmiri autonomy would set a precedent for break away movements in other Indian states (e.g., Punjab or Assam). To Pakistan, Kashmir is symbolic of its national ethos and commitment to protect Muslim interests against Indian encroachment. It believes that the creation of a separate, strongly sectarian nation is incomplete without contiguous Kashmir. Kashmir, in brief, symbolizes the enmity that Hindus and Muslims harbor for one another. Ironically, the fact that India and Pakistan are de facto nuclear powers may help to dampen the fire underlying this issue because a fourth Indo-Pakistani war could entail a nuclear exchange.

The most likely scenario for conflict between India and Pakistan would stem from the continuing unrest in Kashmir. It is difficult to imagine how India and Pakistan could settle this dispute in a mutually satisfactory manner. India's position is clear and transcends political debate. Any arrangement that cedes portions of the state of Jammu and Kashmir (the only majority Muslim state in India) to Pakistan is not acceptable. Pakistan, on the other hand, insists on the right to protect Muslims living in Kashmir; consequently, its support for Kashmiri militants continues.

Since 1990, the Kashmir insurgency, concentrated in the Muslim-majority state of Jammu and Kashmir, has gained momentum. By the mid-1990s, it was not only the most serious flashpoint in the region but also among the most likely accelerants for a nuclear crisis anywhere on the globe. Thus, an internally driven crisis evolved into a regional security threat that also provided a political rallying point, particularly among nationalist groups who favor a more overt program of nuclear weapons acquisition.

Although the origins of the crisis are quintessentially indigenous, there is widespread agreement among both Indian and foreign observers that the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Agency of Pakistan has actively aided and abetted some of the insurgent groups, most notably, the radical Islamic Hezb-ul-Mujahideen. It has been the ISI's practice to use and discard militant organizations in Kashmir. The Pakistani army first used Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) to start terrorist activities in Kashmir and then dropped it in favor of pro-Pakistan fundamentalist groups. Then many of these groups were discarded and more and more Pakistani and Afghan terrorists inducted.

Kashmir's demographics illustrate the complexity of the issue. The territory can be divided into three regions — Jammu, the Kashmir Valley, and Ladakh — each of which is dominated by a different ethnic group. Jammu is inhabited mainly by a Hindu majority, the Kashmir Valley is settled by a Muslim majority, and a

continued on next page

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
in Asia**Teacher Background Essay 3A continued**

Buddhist majority resides in Ladakh. While there is an identifiable Kashmiri ethnicity, the three groups are ethnically distinct, complicating any notion of "Kashmiri nationalism." The implications of these divisions have to be acknowledged whenever the call arises for an independent Kashmir, determined by plebiscite and with its future tied to neither India nor Pakistan.

The Kashmir crisis compelled both governments to expend enormous sums to support the deployment of forces in this region. The costs to both India and Pakistan of the Siachen Glacier deployment alone were estimated at more than \$1 million a day, amounting to more than \$5 billion since the sporadic fighting on the glacier began in 1984.

As of 1997 more than 350,000 Indian soldiers were deployed throughout Kashmir, a portion of them occupying the Indian side of the Siachen Glacier in the far northeastern region of Kashmir in the eastern Karakoram Mountains. Their Pakistani counterparts were dug in seven miles away on the Baltoro Glacier. At nearly 18,000 feet above sea level, howitzer shells are lobbed back and forth, out of sight and hearing of the rest of the world. Popular interest in this decades-old stalemate seems as thin as the atmosphere, yet scores of deaths a week (most resulting from harsh conditions) are attributed to the continuing conflict.

The counterinsurgency strategy that the Indian government adopted in Jammu and Kashmir was developed in the context of dealing with guerrilla movements in India's northeast in the late 1970s. This strategy involves denying the guerrillas any sanctuaries, sealing the porous Indo-Pakistani border, and using both army and paramilitary forces to conduct house-to-house "cordon-and-search" operations. Whether this strategy will lead eventually to the collapse of the insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir remains an open question; violence has continued to accelerate since 1993, with mounting casualties on both sides and the destruction of an ancient mosque and shrine in 1995.

Jammu and Kashmir was a target of externally sponsored religion-based terrorism. The aim is to divide people on the basis of sectarian affiliation and

undermine the secular fabric and territorial integrity of India. Kashmiri militant groups have committed serious abuses, including the deliberate targeting of Kashmir Hindus by fundamentalists, terrorist groups and foreign mercenaries. The persecution by Muslim extremists of the Hindu minority and the systematic religion-based extremism of terrorist elements has resulted in the exodus of 250,000 members of the Hindu and other minorities from the Kashmir Valley to other parts of India. Fundamentalists and terrorists have also targeted and assassinated Muslim intellectuals and liberal Muslim leaders in Jammu and Kashmir. As a consequence, as many as 50,000 Muslims have also been compelled to flee the Valley to seek safety in other parts of India.

In addition to political killings and kidnappings of politicians and civilians, terrorists engaged in extortion and carried out acts of random terror that killed hundreds of Kashmiris. Terrorist acts by Kashmiri groups have also taken place outside Jammu and Kashmir. Many of the terrorists are not Indian citizens, but are of Afghan, Pakistani and other nationalities. Militants in Jammu and Kashmir continue to use kidnappings to sow terror, seek the release of detained comrades, and extort funds.

In Jammu and Kashmir, the judicial system barely functions due to threats by militants against judges, witnesses, and their family members, because of judicial tolerance of the Government's heavy-handed anti-militant actions, and the frequent refusal by security forces to obey court orders. In April 2003, India and Pakistan began a series of steps to ease border tensions that had pushed them to the brink of another war over the mountain territory of Kashmir. In the following months, India and Pakistan restored full diplomatic relations and resumed road, rail and air links. The two rival nations observed a cease-fire in divided Kashmir. Pakistan and India observed a cease-fire along the working boundary, Line of Control and the Line of Actual Contact in Siachen Sector from the midnight November 25-26, 2003.

In January 2004 the prime ministers of India and Pakistan have held a much-hoped-for bilateral meeting on the sidelines of a regional summit.

continued on next page



Teacher Background Essay 3A continued

Officials described the half-hour surprise meeting between Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Pakistan's Zafarullah Jamali as a courtesy call. The prime ministers exchanged views on recent steps their countries have taken to improve usually tense relations.

Violence declined in the region since peace talks began in 2004, and both sides have vowed to persevere with efforts to solve their dispute over the Himalayan territory. Despite relaxation of tension between India and Pakistan, both countries seem unmoved over their stand on the disputed issue of Kashmir.

According to the NCTC, in 2004 there were a total of 284 attacks in Kashmir that met the statutory criteria for significant terrorist incidents.

In early 2005 India and Pakistan launched a landmark bus service across the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir, allowing families divided by the Line to be reunited for the first time in nearly 60 years.

Source: GlobalSecurity.org, "Kashmir," (July 9, 2005), www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/kashmir.htm (accessed February 16, 2006).

SEE THE MAP OF KASHMIR AT THE WEB SITE OR ON A MAP OF SOUTH ASIA

Note: The Government of India Act of 1935, under whose terms India and Pakistan gained independence in 1947, said that the princely states would not automatically become part of one of the successor states to the British colony but would instead be able to do as their rulers decided, including potentially becoming independent. Find Kashmir on the map as well as Junagadh and Hyderabad. Each of these attempted to remain independent or to join the country with which they were not connected geographically (Pakistan in the case of Junagadh) in 1947. Only Kashmir remains a point of contention because of its importance to international security.

MORE ONLINE RESOURCES ABOUT INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS:

- Kashmir: A Way Forward
www.kashmirstudygroup.net
- India and Pakistan: Fifty Years of Independence
www.cnn.com/WORLD/9708/India97/index.html
- India-Pakistan Conflict in Political Cartoons
cagle.msnbc.com/news/INDIA-PAKISTAN/main.asp
- Nuclear Issues in India and Pakistan: Selected Internet Resources
www.lib.berkeley.edu/SSEAL/SouthAsia/nuclear.html



Handout 3B

Washington State Classroom-based Assessment: Causes of Conflict Example Position Paper Outline

INTRODUCTION

- Description of the Conflict
- Conflict placed in historical context
- Comparisons of points of view for each major stakeholder
- Introduction of argument for the factor that was the most important in causing the conflict

BODY: EACH PARAGRAPH ADDRESSES ONE ARGUMENT FOR THE POSITION; INFORMATION INCLUDES:

- Evaluation of each major stakeholder's economic perspective/point of view
- Evaluation of each major stakeholder's historical perspective/point of view
- Specific evidence that supports above information
- A convincing case for your position on the most important factor supported by evidence from research

CONCLUSION

- Summary of position and main arguments

Source: Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, "Washington State Social Studies Classroom-Based Assessment: The Causes of Conflict," 2005,
www.k12.wa.us/assessment/WASL/SocialStudies/CBAs/HS-CausesofConflictCBA.pdf
(accessed February 16, 2006).

**Handout 3C****The Struggle for Independence**

During the late colonial period (particularly during the period just before and during World War II) there were intense debates among Indians about how they might achieve independence from Great Britain. One leader, Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi, advocated nonviolence, and a thorough reform of Indian society along rural and pre-industrial lines. Another, Subhas Chandra Bose, formed the Indian National Army in Burma during WWII, and advocated fighting a war against the British, and in alliance with the Japanese, to gain independence. Compare their two quotes below.

GANDHI QUOTATIONS:

"The outward freedom that we shall attain will only be in exact proportion to the inward freedom to which we may have grown at a given moment. And if this is a correct view of freedom, our chief energy must be concentrated on achieving reform from within."

For further information about this quotation, www.quotationspage.com/quote/4013.html

"There is more to life than increasing its speed."

For further information about this quotation, www.quotationspage.com/quote/21498.html

Source: The Quotations Page,
www.quotationspage.com/quote/21498.html
(accessed February 16, 2006).

BOSE QUOTATIONS:

Bose called on soldiers to be martyrs in the fight for independence:

"As soldiers, you will always have to cherish and live up to the three ideals of faithfulness, duty, and sacrifice. Soldiers who always remain faithful to their nation, who are always prepared to sacrifice their lives, are invincible. If you, too, want to be invincible, engrave these three ideals in the innermost core of your hearts."

Source: "Subhash Chandra Bose," Wikiquote,
en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Subhash_Chandra_Bose
(accessed February 19, 2006).

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

- How do their approaches differ? Were either of these leaders eventually able to attain their goals? What legacies did Gandhi leave?



CONTINUITY AND CHANGE **in Asia**

Student Handout

Handout 3D

Colonialism in Southeast Asia

Colonialism came to the societies of Southeast Asia in response to the European search for spices, raw materials, and cheap labor. By the middle of the nineteenth century, most of Southeast Asia was under colonial control: France governed what is today Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos; Britain controlled what is today Burma and Malaysia; the Netherlands controlled what is today Indonesia; and the U.S. took control of the Philippine Islands from the Spanish at the end of the nineteenth century. Thailand was the one country never under direct colonial rule. In the early twentieth century, as a small number of Southeast Asians were able to receive European language educations in French, Dutch, and English, Southeast Asians were exposed to ideas of nationalism, revolution, and democracy. The revolutions of France and America served as models for Southeast Asian claims for independence. At the end of World War II, most Southeast Asian nations fought for and won their independence.

**Lesson 4****Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution and Its Global Impacts****DESCRIPTION**

More than sixty years after the end of WWII, many people continue to believe that Japan never accepted full responsibility for its imperialism and the devastation and death that resulted. Governments and individuals throughout Asia, including in Japan, contest each others' interpretations of events. Recently the leading political party in Japan, the Liberal Democratic Party, proposed constitutional changes that have reignited this controversy. In this lesson, students will examine debates over these issues.

OBJECTIVES

- Examine a case study of the historical memory of China-Japan relations and how it is reinforced, reshaped, and redirected in the present day
- View the issue of constitutional revision from multiple perspectives
- Discuss Japan's democratic system as a case study of whether democracy can be transplanted from the U.S. to other countries
- Explore how Japan's close ties with the U.S. are perceived by some people outside the U.S.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

It is very unusual for a constitution to state that a nation renounces not only war, but also the threat of using force. How did these statements become part of the constitution of Japan?

Why would these unusual features be considered particularly important by Japan's neighbors?

The author of The Seattle Times article claims that people in China, Korea, and the United States should pay attention to the proposed changes in the constitution of Japan. Why is it important to pay attention to this issue, and why might some people welcome changes while others oppose them?

Why is it that the legacy of Japanese imperialism and World War II continue to be a hot topic more than sixty years after the end of the war?

MATERIALS

- Copies of Handouts 4A and 4B for the entire class
- Internet Access

ACTIVITIES

1. Assign The Seattle Times essay on the Japanese Constitution and use the focus questions to check students' comprehension of the article and stimulate discussion of the issues, either in small groups or as a whole class. Point out to students that one brief essay cannot begin to address the depth and complexity of these issues. Ask them to choose one of the focus questions and write a paragraph identifying what more they would need to know to form an informed opinion in response to that question.
2. Hand out the excerpts from the constitution of Japan in Handout 4A and ask students to research its similarities and differences with relevant parts of the U.S. constitution.
3. Using background information from the Japan Digest by Lynn Parisi at www.indiana.edu/~japan/Digests/const.html, outline historians' evolving understanding of how the Japanese constitution was written. Ask students to write a brief response to the following prompt: "The writing of the Japanese constitution is (or is not) relevant to the writing of constitutions today because ..." One interesting point of view on this subject that is particularly useful for teachers of contemporary world issues can be found in "Occupations and Empires: Why Iraq is Not Japan" by John Dower on the Japan Focus Web site: www.japanfocus.org.

continued on next page



Lesson 4 continued

Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution and Its Global Impacts

4. Pass out Handout 4B and use it to sharpen students' reading literacy skills. Ask the students to divide a piece of paper into four columns. At the top, identify the author of each of the four passages in the handout. Ask the students to read the differing opinions expressed by the four authors. In the appropriate column, students should identify any topics on which two or more of the authors agree, followed by areas of disagreement. Debrief as a class, drawing students' attention to the identity of the speakers and the context of their remarks.
5. Alternatively, hand out the second student reading and use it as the basis for practicing discussion skills. Count off by fours and ask the students to read the source that corresponds to their number. Have them do a mini role-play in which they must introduce themselves to one person, solicit that person's opinion on the topics covered on the articles and explain their own opinion. They should try to stay in character and support their argument with plausible reasons. Debrief as a class.
3. Using the link in Handout 4B to the press conference with Prime Minister Koizumi, examine what he said in defense of his visits to Yasukuni Shrine. His statements include: "It is guaranteed under the Constitution that no one may infringe upon the freedom of mind and a matter of one's heart." Ask students to take a stand on whether or not they agree with him in this situation.

EXTENSION

1. Borrow from the East Asia Resource Center or purchase *The San Francisco Peace Treaty: The Cold War and the Peace Process* from the SPICE Project at Stanford University. This curriculum unit for high school and community college levels includes extensive background information and role-play activities based on the treaty that ended World War II in the Pacific.
2. Explore the Web sites of Yasukuni Jinja (Yasukuni Shrine) www.yasukuni.or.jp/English and the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp. Compare the core messages of the two sites and then do a search for references to them in the news.

**Handout 4A****Constitution of Japan - Excerpts**

Promulgated on November 3, 1946 - Came into effect on May 3, 1947

PREFACE (excerpt)

We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful cooperation with all nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this Constitution.

CHAPTER II: RENUNCIATION OF WAR**Article 9:**

Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. 2) In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

CHAPTER III: RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE PEOPLE**Article 14:**

All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin. 2) Peers and peerage shall not be recognized. 3) No privilege shall accompany any award of honor, decoration or any distinction, nor shall any such award be valid beyond the lifetime of the individual who now holds or hereafter may receive it.

CHAPTER IX: AMENDMENTS**Article 96:**

Amendments to this Constitution shall be initiated by the Diet, through a concurring vote of two-thirds or more of all the members of each House and shall thereupon be submitted to the people for ratification, which shall require the affirmative vote of a majority of all votes cast thereon, at a special referendum or at such election as the Diet shall specify.

Source: Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, *"The Constitution of Japan,"* (May 3, 1947), www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html (accessed on February 16, 2006).

Other Sources: The full text of the constitution of Japan can be found in many print and on-line sources, including the following:
www.solon.org/Constitutions/Japan/English/english-Constitution.html

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
in Asia

Student Handout

Handout 4B**Readings on the Constitution of Japan - Article 9**

In 2005 the Prime Minister of Japan, Junichiro Koizumi, proposed an amendment to the constitution in order to increase the role Japan's Self-Defence Forces can play in international affairs. He leads the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), which posted a draft of the proposed changes on its Web site in November. Controversy about the proposal centered on Article 9, in which the first paragraph was retained but the second paragraph was replaced with one allowing a defense force that may participate in international activities. Proposed changes include the use of a Japanese word translated into English as "army" or "military" that does not appear in the existing constitution.

SOURCE 1

The first source is a 12/15/2005 opinion piece in the English-language China Daily entitled "Japanese Diplomacy Has Led to Isolation in Asia." The author, Weng Hansong, is a researcher at the China Institute for International Strategic Studies. He wrote that in 2005 Japan seemed to have been "trying every means possible to provoke and offend its Asian neighbors." Issues he listed included Japan's close ties with the U.S., territorial disputes, and Prime Minister Koizumi's visits to Yasukuni Shrine. He accused Japan of whitewashing its past. Much of the article focused on the proposed constitutional revisions, especially on the elimination of the second part of Article 9 and the upgrading of the Self-Defence Forces to the level of a government ministry. He concludes by stating: "If all this becomes reality, unpredictable changes are in store for other countries in their dealing with Japan in military, political and diplomatic terms. In what way Japan will play the role of a big country has become a big question mark, behind which lurk many complex and tricky problems."

SOURCE 2

This source is a 12/26/2005 column in the China Daily entitled "Japan Should Reflect On its Own Policies." The unnamed author states that China is not a threat to other countries, despite Japanese claims to the contrary. He criticizes Japan's past invasion of its neighbors, its current military build-up, its supposed expansionist ambitions, and the use of Japanese troops in U.N. peace-keeping operations and in Iraq. He opposes changes to the Japanese constitution and says that the government is bringing the Self-Defense Force "in line with the U.S. pre-emptive attack strategy." He concludes: "It is difficult for a country to play the role of a world leader if it does not have the trust of its neighbouring countries because of its lack of reflection on the past. That Japan has been constantly bragging about threats from its neighbours serves as a source of tension and instability in the region. The nation is making itself a difficult neighbour to live next door to."

SOURCE 3

The Prime Minister of Japan, Junichiro Koizumi, supports amendments to the constitution of Japan. The following statements are from his response to a question during a news conference on January 2, 2006. They are posted in English on an official government website.

"Since taking office, I have stood behind the policy of handling diplomatic issues under the basic policy of Japan-U.S. alliance and international coordination with a view to achieving development and prosperity of Japan in peace, as the basis of Japanese diplomacy and economy. There is no change in that policy. When President George W. Bush visited Japan last November, during my meeting with him in Kyoto, I said, "The stronger the Japan-U.S. alliance is, the better the cooperative relations with other countries will be" and that "the view that a slight deterioration in Japan-U.S. alliance and Japan-U.S. relations, could be offset by improving relations with other countries should not taken." Based on my remarks above some in the media have indeed misunderstood or distorted what I said and wrote very biased reports as if I had said something like, as long as Japan has good relations with the U.S., we could not care less about the relations with other

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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
in Asia

Student Handout

Handout 4B continued

countries. That is not what I said. It is my intention to enhance Japan's cooperative relations with other countries. I am saying that Japan-U.S. relations form the basis of our cooperative relations and we must strive to further strengthen the relations with the U.S. Compared to our relations with other countries, Japan-U.S. relations have a particularly deep meaning. This is because without peace no measure or policy will make progress. On the peace and security fronts, Japan has concluded a security treaty with the U.S. It may not be noticeable in our daily lives but the treaty is most vital for Japan to peacefully advance domestic policies without being frightened by the threat or aggression posed by other countries. The U.S. is the only nation in the world which says that an attack or aggression against Japan is an aggression or attack against their own country. There is no other nation that perceives an attack or aggression against Japan as an attack against itself. If you think about this and judge for yourself, I think you will understand how important Japan-U.S. relations are. With Japan-U.S. relations as the basis, I will advance our cooperative relations with China, the ROK, and other countries in Asia and the rest of the world."

SOURCE 4

This excerpt is from a 1/14/2006 article by Mizuho Fukushima that has been widely distributed in English. She is the leader of the Social Democratic Party in Japan and a member of the Upper House of the Japanese Diet (parliament). She states her concern that Japan is not maintaining its commitment to peace and has paid a high price in expense and crime by allowing the U.S. to maintain military bases in Japan. Her view of Article 9 follows. It is reprinted by permission from Japan Focus, an e-journal and archive at japanfocus.org.

"The article came into being at the cost of more than 20 million lives in World War II in Asia alone, and more than 30 million lives lost around the world. The Constitution is Japan's public pledge not only to ourselves but to the people who died in the war and to the people of Asia and the world.

It is true the United States is an important partner for Japan. Still, we refuse to have Japan act as one with the United States and serve as a world military force. What we want is for every country in the world to protect human rights and provide a healthy environment based on democracy, create an economy and society for people to work with a sense of security, and make an international contribution together with others in order to help people who are suffering from environmental and natural disasters.

Japan cannot move from Asia. We must strive to make up for the failure of Koizumi diplomacy, which has needlessly strained relations with South Korea and China, and build stable relations in Northeast Asia.

Last year, I visited South Korea and China to advance discussion. The problems that lie between U.S. can only be settled when the parties concerned frankly talk with each other with a sincere attitude hoping to advance together. To that end, we must not change the Japanese Constitution, which is Japan's public pledge to Asia and the world."

Sources:

1. Weng, Hansong. "Japanese Diplomacy Has Led to Isolation in Asia." China Daily, December 15, 2005. www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2005-12/15/content_503451.htm (accessed February 16, 2006).
2. "Japan Should Reflect On its Own Policies," China Daily, December 26, 2005. www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2005-12/26/content_506558.htm (accessed February 16, 2006).
3. Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, "Press Conference by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi," Jan. 4, 2006. www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/koizumispeech/2006/01/04press_e.html (accessed February 16, 2006).
4. Fukushima, Mizuho. "The Constitution is Japan's Pledge of Peace to the World," Japan Focus, (Jan. 16, 2006). www.japanfocus.org/article.asp?id=499 (accessed February 16, 2006).



Women's Rise to Power

Lessons 5 – 6 and the corresponding articles explore women's rise to power in South and Southeast Asia. In keeping with the topic of the unit, women's rise to power reflects yet another realm of power and politics in Asia that represents both continuity and change. The articles and lessons provide an in-depth look at female political leaders in Indonesia and South Asia, contrasting their leadership with the roles of women in these societies at large.



Lesson 5

Indonesia's Powerful Women

DESCRIPTION

This lesson asks students to trace the successes and setbacks in the rise to power of one of Indonesia's first female leaders, former president Megawati Sukarnoputri. Although Megawati did not directly support feminist agendas or pro-women issues, she inspired other women leaders to take office. Students examine the case of Megawati Sukarnoputri and the argument put forward by the United Nations (U.N.) Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs: There is a close reciprocal relationship between the general advancement of women and the participation of women in decision-making.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand and apply theories about the relationship between women's political participation and the social advancement of women
- Read articles about Megawati Sukarnoputri and present main points to the class
- Lead the class in discussion about readings

FOCUS QUESTIONS

What are some arguments for the political participation of women?

What historical precedents for women's leadership exist in Southeast Asian countries?

Why is women's leadership a controversial issue in Indonesia?

How have the agendas of female leaders tended to differ from those of their male counterparts?

MATERIALS

- Copies of Handout 5A for the entire class
- Copies of Handout 5B for the entire class
- Internet Access

ACTIVITIES

1. Ask students to read Handout 5A, paying close attention to the five arguments for women's participation in politics. Discuss with the class: Which argument do students find most compelling? What obstacles do they anticipate for women's participation in politics in Asia? What support do students anticipate exists?
2. Break the class into five groups. Pass out one piece of butcher paper and markers to each group. Assign each group one of the five readings. Tell students each group will read about one piece of the history of women's rise to power in Indonesia.
3. On the butcher paper, ask each group to write down the main points from their article. The group should discuss the questions and write down a few points from their discussion as well. Each group will teach the class about their piece of history and discuss the questions.
4. Ask groups to present readings in order, from one to five. Post each group's paper after they present.
5. Teachers should present to students the background in Teacher Background Essay 5C, and ask students to examine the U.N. statement: There is a close reciprocal relationship between the general advancement of women and the participation of women in decision-making.

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Lesson 5 continued

Indonesia's Powerful Women

In the readings about Indonesia, what evidence did students find to support this theory? Did students find any evidence that contradicted this statement? Review the postings.

If students were going to find evidence in support of this theory, what would they look for to show "general advancement of women" in society?

Country Reports on the State of Women in Urban Local Government:

www.unescap.org/huset/women/reports/index.htm

2. Follow up with a discussion on the role of women in politics in the U.S. What do women leaders in the United States do to improve women's lives and women's leadership at the national level?

EXTENSION

1. The author of the article is a scholar who predicts more change for Indonesia. She writes: "Female leaders in Southeast Asia who have been democratically elected as heads of their regional governments are future national leaders who could bring changes to the region." What changes could regional female leaders (governors, mayors, heads of districts) contribute to the future of Southeast Asia? Investigate using the Web sites below, and bring in an example to share with the class from Indonesia or another Southeast Asian country:

Asia Pacific Online Network of Women in Politics, Governance and Transformative Leadership:
www.onlinewomeninpolitics.org

Research papers, case studies, and other documents on Southeast Asian women and their involvement in politics, governance and decision-making:
www.onlinewomeninpolitics.org/southeast/stheast_regdocs.htm.

Women in Politics in Indonesia:
www.onlinewomeninpolitics.org/indon/indomain.htm.

Research papers, case studies, and other documents on Indonesian women and their involvement in politics, governance and decision-making:
www.onlinewomeninpolitics.org/indon/indodoc.htm.

**Handout 5A****Theoretical Concepts on Women's Leadership
and Women's Political Participation**

Bella Abzug (1996) strongly advocates that women's leadership and political participation are not about struggling just for the sake of power, for the mainstreaming women, or for women to join the polluted stream. It's about "cleaning the stream, changing stagnant pools into fresh, flowing waters." The struggle is about reversing the trends of social, economic and ecological crisis.

A study of elected officials in the United States showed considerable differences in male and female attitudes toward the economy, war and peace, nuclear energy, capital punishment, abortion and the equal rights amendment (United Nations Office at Vienna, 1992).

The United Nations (U.N.) Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs (1992) argues that there is a close reciprocal relationship between the general advancement of women and the participation of women in decision-making. Women's political participation will be enhanced if social and economic support structures exist, legal discrimination is eliminated and negative stereotypes are banished from education and the media. Increased political participation and involvement by women may be necessary for more equitable social, economic, legal and cultural conditions.

THERE ARE FIVE BASIC ARGUMENTS FOR WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

(U.N. Office at Vienna, Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, 1992):

- **Democracy and egalitarianism;** women constitute at least half of any population and should be represented proportionally. The recognition of women's rights to full citizenship must be reflected in their effective participation at the various levels of political life.
- **Legitimacy;** women's under-representation can be dangerous for the legitimacy of the democratic system since it distances elected representatives from their electorate and more particularly from the women among their electors.
- **Differences of interests;** political participation involves articulating, providing and defending interests. It is reasonable to believe that women are more aware of their own needs and are therefore better able to press for them.
- **Changing politics;** women are more critical of the traditional definition of politics. An initial effect of women entering the political scene was the enlargement of the scope of politics. Issues that were once confined to the private sphere are now seen as political.
- **Efficient use of human resources;** women comprise half the world's pool of potential talent and ability.



Handout 5B - Reading 1

Women's Leadership and Women's Political Participation in Indonesia

"Come, women, young girls, stand up, let U.S. join hands and let U.S. work together to bring change to these unbearable conditions"

— Kartini, an Indonesian feminist and writer, in her letter to Stella Zeehandelaar, August 23, 1900.

Indonesia is the fourth most densely populated country in the world and the most populous Muslim country — more than 85 percent of Indonesia's population practices Islam. Many ethnic groups in the archipelago of Indonesia have strong traditions of women's leadership. During the feudal era, some kingdoms were ruled under the strong leadership of queens. Island Islamic societies, and in particular the Indonesian province of Aceh, seem to be extraordinary in terms of women's access to political power compared to Middle Eastern societies. Aceh was already a cosmopolitan center of Islamic learning when it was ruled by a succession of four female heads-of-state in the seventeenth century: Tajul Alam Safiatuddin (r. 1641-75), Nur Al-Alam Nakiyyat al-Din Shah (1675-78), 'Inayat Shah Zakiyyat al-Din (1678-88) and Kamalat Shah (1688-99).

At the community level, there has been a long history of women's leadership particularly in the field of education. During the late nineteenth century, in Central Java, a woman named R.A. Kartini established the first school for girls. Kartini was known as one of the first feminists in Indonesia. In letters she wrote between 1900 and 1904, she formulated her plan of action based on a few main points: 1) education for women is critical to the empowerment of all people; 2) women must have the right to choose any occupation; and 3) polygamy must be eliminated because it abuses women's dignity and jeopardizes their economic security. Kartini's establishment of a school for girls inspired others such as Ms. Dewi Sartika in West Java, Ms. Maria Walanda Maramis in North Sulawesi, and Ms. Rohana Kudus in West Sumatra to do the same. This was followed by Rohana Kudus' publication of *Soenting Melayu* in 1911, the first newspaper written by women for women in colonial Indonesia.

R.A. Kartini was born in 1879 into an aristocratic family as a daughter of the Head of Rembang Regency, Central Java. Her father, known for his progressive point of view at that time, sent all three of his daughters to a Dutch school. Although Kartini was eager to follow her brothers in pursuing higher education, she had to follow the strong customary traditions for aristocratic girls at that time and instead waited for her arranged marriage. During her time in what she referred to as "a golden cage," she began a correspondence with some prominent Dutch feminists including Stella Zeehandelaar.

In 1952, shortly after independence, Indonesia ratified the U.N. Convention on Political Rights for Women through law no. 68/1958. This law secures the rights of Indonesian women to vote and to be appointed to the legislature. It also assures women's right to hold any position in government office. In the first general election of Indonesia in 1955, Indonesian women exercised their rights to vote and to be elected as parliament members. Subsequent general election laws — no. 15/1969, no. 4/1975, no. 29/1980 and no. 3/1985 — provided opportunities for Indonesian women to participate actively in the political arena and ensured women's right to participate in the decision-making process.

DISCUSSION QUESTION

Discuss Kartini's quote at the beginning of the article. From Kartini's point of view, what would it look like for women to rise up against "unbearable conditions"?

**Handout 5B - Reading 2****Gender Politics in Authoritarian Indonesia**

When the New Order regime led by General Soeharto came to power in Indonesia in 1966, it restrained all forms of mass organization and existing political parties were either demolished or rendered powerless. Consequently, the people's movements, including the women's movement, which was quite large and politically influential in the pre-New Order period, was destroyed to a great extent. There was a "clean up" of communists by the military in alliance with anti-communist elements such as radical, fundamentalist Muslims, students and intellectuals.

Gender politics became a significant instrument for the New Order regime in sustaining its power, along with the use of military power and inciting fear of "communism." Due to the regime's fear of the power of women's organizations like GERWANI, Soeharto's New Order government forced these women to become members of organizations controlled by the government such as *Dharma Wanita*. By defining women according to the *Ibuisism* ideology—as mothers and wives who were denied access to political power—the New Order attempted to domesticate, segregate and depoliticize women (Suryakusuma, 1996).

GERWANI was the biggest women's organization in the modern history of Indonesia. It was established in 1950 by a small group of feminist, socialist, and nationalist women. It was reported that in 1965, its members numbered more than one-and-a-half million women (Wieringa, 1988). Local branches of GERWANI emerged all over Indonesia. Most of its members joined because its activities related to the fundamental problems of unmet needs and the rights of women. To try and achieve these goals, GERWANI worked quite closely with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

Under Soeharto's regime women were often assigned seats within institutions, serving as token females rather than as a real political force. The high numbers of women in district, provincial, and national parliaments in 1990 were those closely linked to then President Soeharto, the ruling party, Golkar, and the military. Women who were allowed into politics during the New Order era often rode on the coat tails of their husband's influence and careers. However, the culture of women's leadership during this era, particularly at the community level and within non-governmental organizations, was still alive and being actively exercised.

DISCUSSION QUESTION

Why did Soeharto's authoritarian regime need to domesticate, segregate, and depoliticize Indonesian women?

How could Indonesian women maintain their leadership culture under the authoritarian regime?

Handout 5B - Reading 3**The Rise of Megawati Sukarnoputri**

After General Soeharto took power in a 1965 military coup that unseated Sukarno (Indonesia's first president), Soeharto established an authoritarian regime. Assuming the presidency for himself, Soeharto incarcerated Sukarno as a political prisoner and enacted a ban for all Sukarno-related matters. Sukarno's family, including his daughter Megawati, experienced harsh treatment during the Soeharto era. In order to maintain Sukarno's status as a charismatic national hero during the Soeharto's era, Sukarno's children decided not to join any political activities. Aware of Sukarno's public appeal, Soeharto did not try to make Sukarno, his family, and his

continued on next page



Student Handout

Handout 5B - Reading 3 continued
The Rise of Megawati Sukarnoputri

allies into political enemies. The Indonesian Democratic Party — one of three parties during Soeharto's era — adopted one of Sukarno's stands on nationalism. Starting in the late 80s, the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI from *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia*) regularly approached Sukarno's children to ask them to join the party. This effort closely tied into PDI's long-term plan to win elections by getting votes from Sukarno's supporters. In 1985, PDI was finally successful in convincing one of Sukarno's children to join the party. It was his daughter, Megawati Sukarnoputri. The PDI did well at the 1987 and 1992 elections, partly due to Megawati's involvement at the party.

Although the PDI gained more voters in the 1987 and 1992 elections, its leader, Soerjadi, did not have a place in the government. In the 1992 electoral campaigns, he verbally attacked President Soeharto, who had been in power for 26 years, advocating the limitation of the presidential tenure into two terms and criticizing rampant and high levels of official corruption (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1993b:20). As a result, Soeharto's administration declared that Soerjadi's election was invalid. Approximately 100 party officials from seventy of the party's 304 branches responded to this intervention with a daring action: they approached Megawati to ask her to take a position in chairing a special congress (*Forum Keadilan*, 1993). Megawati agreed. Her decision was considered a courageous and inspiring move by many people, not just party members.

Despite the enormous pressure she was under from Soeharto's regime, Megawati gained broad public support. Seven PDI branches in Central Java called on her to run as a candidate for the presidency at the 1998 election. Megawati did not reject this call (Jakarta Post, 1995). While her advisors, concerned over her safety, warned her against running, Megawati ignored them and continued challenging Soeharto. This was very dangerous with a powerful, authoritarian Soeharto in full control of the armed forces. Eventually, popular protests against Soeharto forced him to step down, and Megawati's party won the elections.

DISCUSSION QUESTION

Why did Megawati make the courageous decision to challenge the powerful and authoritarian Soeharto?

How did Megawati build her political leadership skills?

Handout 5B - Reading 4
The Rocky Road to the Presidential Office

Megawati Sukarnoputri was the daughter of the first Indonesian president whose presidency ended with a coup by General Soeharto in 1966. Decades later, Megawati joined the Indonesian Democratic Party and challenged Soeharto. Popular protests forced Soeharto to step down in 1998, and Megawati's party won the first democratic election in post-authoritarian Indonesia in 1999. Megawati should have been in the presidential chair, elected by her party, right after the 1999 elections, but a controversy arose over the legitimacy of female leadership, initiated by the male politicians of Islamic parties. Her victory was never realized. Her one-time ally, Abdurrahman Wahid, won the backing of an alliance of Islamic parties that opposed a female president. Wahid became the fourth president and Megawati was elected vice president.

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**Handout 5B - Reading 4 continued****The Rocky Road to the Presidential Office**

The controversy over women's leadership did not begin when Megawati was appointed chairman of the Indonesian Democracy Party of Struggle (PDI-P) in 1993. Megawati was the first woman to chair a political party in Indonesia. The controversy began at the end of 1998, and came to a head at the time of the spectacular success of the PDI-P in the 1999 elections. Conservative Islamic and liberal intellectual leaders found dozens of reasons to argue as to why Megawati could not and should not become the nation's leader.

Male politicians from Islamic-based political parties repeatedly delivered the argument that a female president was unacceptable under Islam. However, many liberal Islamic intellectuals fought back. One of the finest young Islamic thinkers (Ulil, 1999) explained it as follows: "The issue of Megawati's nomination [for the presidency] arose at exactly the same moment as the Islamic constituency felt ready to assert itself as a competitor ... for the leadership of the nation." Underlying this statement was the fact that for many years Soeharto suppressed Islamic political parties and Islamic social organizations. According to this argument, the anti-Megawati position of Islamic groups and their support for Abdurrahman Wahid can best be understood as part of the assertion of Islamic political constituencies and not part of Islamic ideology as such. But this argument does not explain the common ground between the Islamic and the liberal-intellectual rejections of Megawati.

Liberal intellectuals argued against Megawati, summarizing her weaknesses. First, they cited her limited leadership experience prior to her appointment as the chairman of PDI-P; she did not have managerial experience and she was relatively uneducated. Growing up, Megawati had attended a private school in Jakarta. After she graduated, she entered the department of agriculture at the State University of Padjadjaran in Bandung, West Java, in 1965 in order to follow her dream of becoming an agricultural scientist. However, with the political pressures on Sukarno's family after his fall in 1966, Megawati had no choice but to discontinue her university courses.

Second, liberal intellectuals charged that her stand on domestic policies were not acceptable. She did not want to condemn Soeharto for his brutal oppression of her followers. She did not question the dual function of the military in security and politics, a condition that contributed to Soeharto's power. She did not want to amend the 1945 Constitution. And she saw East Timor, a territory that had long called for independence, as an integral part of Indonesia (Sen, 2002).

Megawati's prospective presidency was intensely debated during the administration of Soeharto's Vice President, Habibie, who took over the presidency from 1998-99 after Soeharto's downfall. Habibie did not take any official action to confirm that the 1945 constitution of Indonesia and other laws guaranteed the political rights of women, including the right to be appointed to political positions such as the presidency.

In 2001, the House of Representatives impeached President Abdurrahman Wahid. As vice president, Megawati replaced him in accordance with the rules of the constitution and became the fifth president of Indonesia. Upon her rise to the presidency, one of the bitterest opponents of a female presidency — Hamzah Haz, chairman of the largest Islamic-based political party — accepted her offer as the vice president.

DISCUSSION QUESTION

Does it matter if a president is female?

Why is women's leadership a controversial issue in Indonesia? What about in the United States?

**Handout 5B - Reading 5****Megawati Sukarnoputri's Impact on Women's Leadership**

The administration of Indonesia's former female president (2001-2004), Megawati Sukarnoputri, faced critical and complex challenges. Megawati came to the presidential office when the country was facing political unrest, ethnic conflict, economic hardship, social instability and social injustice, as well as massive environmental destruction. The people of Indonesia expected her to solve all these problems. This was not an easy task for Megawati who built a close relationship with the armed forces while in office, mainly for political purposes. This relationship ultimately linked her with political figures geared toward the status quo and it became a critical factor in her failure. Nevertheless, Megawati had unique leadership skills that enabled her to manage Indonesia in turbulent times. She was successful in facilitating the development and implementation of a new system of direct presidential elections that began in 2004, as opposed to the old system in which the winning party elected the president. Although she received significant numbers of votes, as runner up, she lost the 2004 presidential election, in which her two main rivals were retired military generals.

While Megawati did not follow feminist or even pro-woman agendas, her political role inspired other women to run for local government. During her presidential period, Indonesia saw increasing numbers of democratically elected women as heads of local governments. One of them is Rustriningsih, a twice-elected regional government leader of the Central Java district of Kebumen. When Rustriningsih, who goes by only one name, came to office in 2000, she found that elementary schools in her district were in such bad condition that a number of children were killed when the roof of their classroom collapsed. Rustriningsih immediately addressed the problem by launching an intensive program to renovate elementary schools in collaboration with village leaders and the local parent association. She has used a similar approach to develop other infrastructure projects in her district. Furthermore, she is committed to addressing problems of corruption and has been building one of the politically cleanest and most transparent local governments in Indonesia. These are extraordinary actions in Indonesia, the fourth most densely populated country in the world, where corruption has historically been a serious problem.

DISCUSSION QUESTION

What kind of leaders do female presidents make?

Why are regional women leaders critical to the political process?



Teacher Background Essay 5C

Future Female Leaders

The numbers of democratically elected female leaders in Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries are increasing. Although statistics show that women remain underrepresented in local governments across Southeast Asia, they are making their mark with distinctive styles of leadership. Many of them commit to practice clean governance, and they have begun to pay attention to people's basic needs and to women's issues in their regions. Their attention on women's issues is a crucial step to reaching a critical mass of women at regional levels. This critical mass of women could support their policies and actions to improve women's lives. This is in line with what the U.N. Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs argued in 1992:

There is a close reciprocal relationship between the general advancement of women and the participation of women in decision-making.

**Lesson 6****The Constitutional Rights of Indian Women in Politics****DESCRIPTION**

In 1992 a constitutional amendment was passed that guaranteed the representation of women in one-third of the seats of local village councils in India called *panchayats*. Since that time over seven million women have been elected and served as representatives. Many of these women claimed to be “housewives” and other lack formal education, but they join the council as elected representatives, armed with a sense of the issues affecting their villages of 10,000 or more people. This lesson asks students to apply what they learned in the previous lesson in a discussion of the potential impacts of women’s participation in Indian politics.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the law in place to guarantee women’s participation in local governance in India
- Speculate on the potential impacts of this law on the overall status of women

FOCUS QUESTIONS

How does the Indian *panchayat* system guarantee the representation of women and groups of low social status?

What are the arguments for and against this system? How might it be expanded to higher levels of elected government in the future?

ACTIVITIES

1. Refer students back to the article on women in South Asian politics. Pass out Handout 6A on the *panchayats*, or village councils, in India, and discuss the potential advantages and disadvantages of the Indian law, drawing upon the theory and case study from the previous lesson. What do students suppose the impacts might be of this law on the status of women? For those who oppose the law, what impacts do they fear?
2. The previous lesson about women in Southeast Asian politics suggested that the participation of women in political office does influence policy. Preliminary research in India indicates that the participation of women in politics influences the type of investments made at a local level. Investments tend to reflect issues that women generally care most about in each locale, such as the quality of drinking water in one area and roads in another, etc. Hypothetically, what steps would students need to take to see if this were universally true?
3. Discuss the proposal to expand India’s current reservation system. Should India’s reservation system be extended to the national parliament? Why or why not? Have students design a propaganda poster to reflect a point of view, or write a new amendment that proposes a different system.
4. Take a class vote about reservations for women in the national parliament.



Handout 6A

Panchayats

In 1992, the Seventy-Third Amendment to the Indian constitution legally established *panchayats*, or village councils. These bodies serve at local levels of government (somewhat akin to a town council or, in some larger areas, a county council) throughout rural India to determine local development needs, establish local regulation, mediate local disputes, and fulfill other duties. Representatives in each *panchayat* are elected by the people, and must reside in the village they represent. One of the key elements of this amendment, in relation to women in politics, was provision 6:

Recognition of the Need for Women and Members of the Scheduled Caste to contribute to governance:

Representation for women and Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) is ensured through reservation of a minimum of 1/3 of the total seats at all the three levels. The political empowerment of women by providing this reservation means that about seven to eight Lakh women will be participating in and contributing directly to the development process, about 15 to 20 Lakh women will be office bearers at all levels of Panchayats. Similarly the other disadvantaged group of SCs and STs will get the opportunity to enter into the system through reservations in these bodies."

In effect, this means that there are at least some women serving on every panchayat in India. This has led to considerable debate about its effectiveness in improving the status of women. Some argue that the women serving on these bodies are usually only the wives or daughters of powerful men in the locality, and that their presence does nothing to improve the lot of local women. Others argue that just the presence of women, even if they start out doing the bidding of powerful males, will eventually lead to greater attention to issues of importance to women. There is a proposal to reserve a certain number of seats in the national parliament for women, about which many of the same arguments are made on both sides.

DISCUSSION QUESTION

Discuss the merits of reservations for women in legislative and other public deliberative and law making bodies.

TERMS

Panchayat A panchayat is a local, village council in rural India

SC, ST: SC refers to Scheduled Castes, ST refers to Scheduled Tribes. The "schedules" are lists of tribes and castes that are eligible for something similar to affirmative action. They receive special consideration in jobs and educational placement. It is only the most disadvantaged who make it onto this list.

Lakh: Lakh is an Indian word that means 100,000.

Source: "The 73rd Amendment," Rural Litigation and Entitlement Kendra
www.rlek.org/pragati/amendment.html
(accessed on February 16, 2006).



Emerging Voices in Power and Politics

Lessons 7 – 9 and the corresponding articles from The Seattle Times highlight political and social activism of “emerging voices” in Asia. This final section of the unit on *Continuity and Change in Asia* looks at ordinary citizens and their sometimes extraordinary participation in politics through activism that either has challenged or championed the current political and social order. The cases presented here from China, India, and Indonesia reveal a spectrum of power dynamics between politically active citizens and the state.



Lesson 7

Indonesians Speak Out: Activism in Times of Authoritarianism

DESCRIPTION

For over thirty years Indonesia was controlled by an authoritarian regime, established in 1966 by General Soeharto in a military coup. Following the takeover, Indonesians were forbidden to speak out against the government under punishment of law, and yet social movements were able to take root and Soeharto was eventually forced to step down in 1998 as students, artists, workers, women, and farmers demanded political rights and honest government. In this lesson, students determine which “emerging voices” intrigued them most and create a profile of an individual or organization that has made a difference.

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the restrictions on personal freedoms that existed under the leadership of General Soeharto
- Discuss the impacts of these restrictions on ordinary citizens in Indonesia
- Investigate the life of an individual or the history of a politically active organization

FOCUS QUESTIONS

Discuss why the authoritarian regime led by President Soeharto controlled citizen's lives both politically and socially.

What were the impacts of political and social control to ordinary people in Indonesia?

What could ordinary people in Indonesia, including young people, do to challenge the authoritarian rules in their daily life?

How was it possible that Indonesian women, who in the past were depoliticized by Soeharto's regime, initiated one of the first public protests?

How did other groups of Indonesians deal with authoritarian rules?

MATERIALS

- Teacher Background Essay 7A
- Internet Access

ACTIVITIES

1. Present the information in the Teacher Background Essay 7A to students regarding Indonesia's authoritarian regime and the voices of organizations and individuals that have had a voice in politics and society, interjecting discussion questions throughout.
2. Ask students to think about which “emerging voices” intrigued them most. Suggest they create a profile of an individual or organization that made a difference in Indonesia or elsewhere in Asia. Students can find their own individual or select one from the list. Profiles can be a composite of quotes, photographs, news, and original writing about the subject, or students can write up a mock interview with the individual or representative of the organization they selected. Discuss with students which format they would like to use for their profiles: i.e. PowerPoint, posters, recordings, etc.

Here is a short list of individuals and organizations to inspire students. Most of these figures and organizations are associated with Indonesia's women's movement:

- **Gadis Arivia** — magazine editor, feminist
- **Gerwani** — women's organization
- **Kartini** — women's rights activist

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Lesson 7 continued

Indonesians Speak Out: Activism in Times of Authoritarianism

- **Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia** — Indonesian Women Coalition for Justice and Democracy
 - **Karlina Leksono** — scientist and women's rights activist
 - **Poetri Mardika** — women's organization
 - **Wilasih Noviana** — women's rights activist
 - **Suara Ibu Perduli** — The Voice of Concerned Mothers' Group
 - **Solidaritas Perempuan** — women's organization
 - **Ratna Sarumpaet** — playwright
 - **Pramoedya Ananta Toer** — writer
3. Share profiles with the class. Discuss with students: What values are reflected in the work of these individuals? Who supports them? Who opposes them? How do they make a difference?

EXTENSION

1. Laws prohibiting Indonesia's citizens from speaking out against the government originated in the colonial period: "During the 70s many activists were charged with contravening sections of an early Dutch colonial law. These sections, known as the Haatsai Artikelen (Hatred Articles), provide for a maximum jail sentence of seven years for anyone convicted of "spreading hatred" against the government." (Max Lane, Translator's Preface, *The Struggle of the Naga Tribe*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1979.) Find out how and why these laws came into being during the Dutch colonial period.
2. Investigate censorship of artists in China during the era of former Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong. What subjects in arts and literature were banned and why? How does artistic expression compare in China's Reform Era (1979-present)?



Teacher Background Essay 7A

Activism in Indonesia

"Organize, my friend, form associations with many people, tens, hundreds, yes, even tens-of-thousands, all becoming one powerful giant, with a strength greater than the sum of all the members put together ..."

— Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Indonesian writer, in his 1985 book, *Footsteps*.

INDONESIA IN BRIEF

Indonesia is the largest archipelago in the world. It consists of five major islands and thirty groups of smaller islands totaling 18,110 islands and islets. The land area totals about 1.9 million square kilometers (slightly less than three times the size of Texas). Forests cover 70 percent of the land area all are claimed as state forestlands, 7.2 percent covered by permanent crops, 9.9 percent is arable land and 12.9 percent for other purposes.

Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world, with a population of 231 million inhabiting Indonesia's 6,000 islands. Indonesia is rich in cultural diversity, with five hundred ethnic groups, and hundreds more sub-ethnic groups with distinct languages and dialects. Indonesia is also the most populous Muslim country — 85 percent of its population practices Islam.

Indonesia declared its independence from Dutch colonial rule in August 17, 1945, though its independence was not officially recognized by the Dutch government or throughout the world until 1949. Sukarno, one of founding fathers of Indonesia, served as Indonesia's first president from 1945 to 1966. After the military coup in 1966, General Soeharto assumed the presidency. He led the autocratic, centralistic, and militaristic government that lasted until he stepped down in 1998, following intensive calls for reform delivered by a people's movement. Vice President Habibie was constitutionally appointed as the new president. During his short presidency (1998-1999), Habibie agreed with the call of the people of East Timor to have a referendum for the territory's independence from Indonesian rule. In 1999, the first democratic election was held under Habibie's leadership.

INDONESIA UNDER THE AUTHORITARIAN REGIME

The change from Sukarno's administration to the New Order of General Soeharto in 1966 was a product of the Communist-led coup attempt of October 1, 1965, instigated by the killing of seven generals on September 30, 1965. Soon after the New Order regime came to power, it restrained all forms of mass organization, and existing political parties were either demolished or rendered powerless.

Political control and economic development were the foundation of Soeharto's regime. Using the serious economic crisis faced by Indonesia at that time, Soeharto started to get international loans, and, as a trade-off, he opened the country to foreign investment, exploiting Indonesia's natural resources.

The Soeharto regime controlled citizen's lives both politically and socially. Holding opinions different from the official policies set up by the regime could be considered subversive. The regime considered cultural activities such as theater, music, and dance performances, which delivered messages that could potentially awaken critical awareness in Indonesians, as "politically subversive."

Gender politics became a significant instrument for the New Order regime in sustaining its power, along with the use of military power and inciting fear of "communism." Due to their fear of the power of women's

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Teacher Background Essay 7A continued

organizations like *Gerwani*, Soeharto's New Order government forced women to join organizations controlled by the government such as Dharma Wanita. By defining women according to the *Ibuism* ideology — as mother and wives who should be denied access to political power — the New Order domesticated, segregated and depoliticised women.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The women's movement during the colonial period was not separate from the national independence movement. The first women's organization was *Poetri Mardika* (Independent Women), which formed in Jakarta in 1912. This organization was associated with Budi Utomo, the first Indonesian Nationalist Organization, which was formed in 1908. The establishment of *Poetri Mardika* encouraged the emergence of many women's magazines addressing women's issues and the formation of many other women's organizations. In 1917, Aisyah, a women's division of the progressive Islamic social organization, Muhammadiyah, was established. It was followed by the establishment of women's organizations among the Catholic and Protestant Organizations. After 1920, women throughout Indonesia began to organize on a broader scale based on religious affiliations.

Gerwani was one of the dominant organizations of the 1950s and early 1960s. Saskia Wieringa (2002), who conducted a close study of Gerwani literature and interviewed many former members of the organization, notes that in the 1950s the organization focused on women's domestic tasks and their political consequences such as concern over rising prices. Gerwani created campaigns against sexual harassment, trafficking and child marriage. It was reported that in 1961 its members numbered more than one million. From the late 1950s, Gerwani became more closely aligned with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Later, particularly after the Soeharto regime took power in 1966, this relationship led to the abuse of Gerwani members by military and community members.

As Soeharto's regime restrained all forms of mass organization, women's movements, which were large and politically influential before the New Order period, were to a great extent destroyed. In the early 1980s, younger generations began to realize the negative impacts of political control and state-led economic development that exploited natural resources and neglected human rights of Indonesian people. This led to the process of democratization in Indonesia initiated by student activists and non-governmental organizations in the late 1980s. Women activists were also emboldened to organize and speak out against the New Order State in reaction to increasing numbers of women in poverty, due to their limited access to resources. The independent and autonomous women's organizations they formed marked the rise of the women's movement in this era. Afterward, women's organizations worked tirelessly together with nongovernmental organizations and people's organizations, including farmers groups and labor groups, to awaken Indonesian people to actively participate in the political process.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

How did other groups respond to authoritarian rules? Diverse activists in Indonesia and Malaysia, including women, men, workers and farmers, often used art and creativity in their protests. Authoritarian regimes in both countries used the law to control cultural activities that were considered "politically subversive" and "retrograde" by regulating permits for theater, music, dance performances and other art practices. Nowadays,

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Teacher Background Essay 7A continued

these art workers continue to offer cultural critiques using creativity as part of their response to social problems. Creative protests grew in strength in Indonesia after the fall of the authoritarian regime in 1998, with citizens gaining the right to free expression.

THE ARRIVAL OF POLITICAL MOTHERS: VOICE OF CONCERNED MOTHERS (SIP)

The Asian financial crisis hit Indonesia in late 1997, creating devastating effects. Prices rose as the value of the Indonesian currency, the rupiah, plummeted. The failure of Soeharto's government to stabilize or control the economy led to many Indonesians losing their jobs while food prices skyrocketed. Poor families could no longer afford basic staples such as milk powder, with price increases of almost 400 percent. Mothers started giving sweetened tea to their babies and young children, even though they knew it was not as nutritious as milk.

In response, some female intellectuals and activists began to organize. They formed *Suara Ibu Peduli* (SIP), translated "Voice of Concerned Mothers." They began by focusing on the rapidly rising prices of goods and services and organized funding to provide women with milk powder at half the price.

On February 23, 1998, about 20 mothers gathered at central Jakarta's main traffic circle to demand lower milk prices for everyone. Participants pressed for their demands while praying, singing patriotic songs and distributing flowers. They also read a statement called "When Mothers Speak," which blamed the high prices on government and market inefficiency. Although the crisis hit women hardest, they had no say in how to resolve it. "It is time for mothers to speak," said demonstrators. The mothers conducted their protest while Indonesia's parliament was in session. This was an activity forbidden during the Soeharto era and usually dealt with harshly. But the police — many of whom faced similar difficulties themselves in buying milk for their children — did not harm the women.

Nevertheless, three protesting mothers were arrested and charged with disturbing the public order (conducting a demonstration without a permit). They were: Karlina Leksono, a prominent Indonesian scientist; Gadis Arivia, a feminist journal editor and university lecturer; and Wilasih Noviana, a women's activist. Academics, journalists, economic and political observers, students and parents who simply wanted lower milk prices, came to the courthouse or wrote to the news media. Even one of the judges said that she fully understood the reason for their peaceful action, calling Leksono a "heroine" whose deep concern for young children "pushed her to take this caring action." Eventually, the women were released.

Their bravery and other protests against the regime encouraged Indonesians to join the rising tide of public demands for political rights, honest government and lower prices. Among them were a large number of university students. These students then took a more prominent role in the people's movement to challenge Soeharto's regime. The killing of several students by the military during the street protests did not stop the movement. During student demonstrations, many people dropped off food, clothes, medicine and money at SIP's office to be channeled to those in need.

By mid-1998, Suharto and his regime had stepped down.

Notes: (1) Central Intelligence Agency, The World Fact Book, "Indonesia," July 2002.
www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/id.html#Intro
(accessed February 16, 2006).

**Lesson 8****Casting out Caste: Human Rights for India's Most Disadvantaged****DESCRIPTION**

Discrimination against the Dalits, former "untouchables," was outlawed by India's Constitution 55 years ago, yet Dalits continue to struggle for equality in all aspects of their lives. In this lesson, students will examine the life of a hero of Dalit advancement and the constitutional provisions that protect the rights of this group. They will also read about the current conditions of Dalits in India and study a recent declaration of the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights that is determined to "Cast out Caste."

OBJECTIVES

- Understand the laws against discrimination as written in India's Constitution
- Discuss the conditions of Dalits today and the obstacles to equal treatment
- Write a reaction journal or essay in response to a quote by a former activist for equal rights in India
- Be able to name and discuss individuals and groups that promote Dalit human rights

FOCUS QUESTIONS

Who are Dalits? What has been the traditional basis for discrimination against this group?

What legal protections against discrimination exist in India?

What are the conditions of Dalits today and what is the nature of activism for the rights of this group?

How effective are laws in promoting equality in society?

What is the effect of the increasing privatization of the Indian economy on this group?

MATERIALS

- Copies of Handouts 8A-D for the entire class

ACTIVITIES

1. Prior to beginning the activities in this lesson, students will need to understand the basic principles of India's caste system, which was officially banned in the Indian Constitution. See "The Caste System as Social Order" under "Lesson Plans" of the Asia Society Web site www.askasia.org/teachers/lessons for a brief explanation of the origin of this system of social stratification.
2. In class, pass out the brief biography of Dr. Ambedkar, a hero of the Dalits and contributing author of the Constitution of India. Have students read the biography and write one sentence that summarizes the life's mission of Dr. Ambedkar. Report out.
3. Ask students to pair up and use Handout 8B to write a list, in students' opinions, of the five most important ways India's constitution protects Dalits. Discuss the students' choices.
4. In their pairs, have students examine two documents to determine the condition of the former Dalits 50 years since the constitution, with its anti-discrimination laws, was ratified. The first is The Seattle Times article about Dalits, that discusses present-day difficulties for the Dalits. The second is the election results for Dalit-led parties, shown in Handout 8C. What is the condition of Dalits today and what are the obstacles facing them?
5. Discuss students' findings with the class. Pose the question: How effective are laws in promoting equality in society? Have students do a five minute in-class writing in reaction to the quote by

continued on next page



Lesson 8 continued

Casting out Caste: Human Rights for India's Most Disadvantaged

Dr. Ambedkar from Handout 8A: "Rights are protected not by laws, but by the social and moral conscience of society."

EXTENSION

1. Pose the following dilemma to students: With increasing privatization in India, much of the economic and political power that formerly rested with the government is moving toward private enterprises. The reservation system, similar to affirmative action in the U.S., applies to government educational institutions and government jobs, but not to private firms. What might this mean for Dalits and other oppressed classes in India?

See excerpts from the Delhi Declaration of National Summit On Reservation in Private Sector in Handout 8D, which is a document put forth by the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights. According to this organization, what would a successful government response to this dilemma look like?

**Handout 8A****A Biography of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar**

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR

Bhimji Ramji Ambedkar was born on April 14, 1891, in Mhow, Madhya Pradesh. His parents both were untouchables. His father was a retired army officer and headmaster in a military school and his mother an illiterate woman.

Because he was born a Dalit, an outcast in South Asia's caste system formerly known as an "untouchable," he was made to sit in a corner of the classroom, separated from other students. His teachers feared pollution — that is why they would not touch him. Despite all kinds of humiliations, he completed high school in 1908. This was such an exceptional achievement for an untouchable that he was felicitated in a public meeting.

A GREAT LAWYER AND DALIT LEADER

In 1920 he went to London where he got his Bar-at-Law at Gray's Inn for Law.

Ambedkar again experienced humiliation when he returned to India in 1923. The upper caste lawyers would not even have tea at his desk. His clients were his greatest consolation, whom he treated with an open mind. His reputation and fame among the Depressed Classes began to grow. Ambedkar is recognized as one of the greatest thinkers that India has produced. He visualized and struggled for a casteless and equal India.

At this time he was fully convinced that nothing could emancipate the Dalits except through a complete destruction of the caste system. He asserted: "I was born a Hindu, but never will die a Hindu. Hinduism should become a religion of social equality. What is required is to get rid of the doctrine of 'Chatuvarna.' That is the root cause of all inequality and is also the parent of the caste system and untouchability, which are merely other forms of inequality."

AMBEDKAR'S STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

In 1924 he started "Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha," an organization for equal treatment of untouchables. Ambedkar adopted a two-pronged strategy:

- Eradication of illiteracy and economic uplift of the downtrodden
- Non-violent struggle against visible symbols of the caste system, like denial of entry into temples and drawing water from public wells and tanks

Ambedkar won two major victories when the High Court of Bombay ruled in favor of the untouchables and they made a successful nonviolent march and entry into a temple. The two struggles shook the religious foundation on which the caste system is built.

He formed a political party "Scheduled Castes Federation" in April 1942. Ambedkar was also an advocate of women's rights. He struggled for women's liberalization from the caste-entrenched patriarchal system. At the conference of the Depressed Classes Women in Nagpur in 1942, he stated: "Let every girl who marries stand by her husband, claim to be her husband's friend and equal, and refuse to be his slave."

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Handout 8A continued

ARCHITECT OF THE CONSTITUTION

Ambedkar was the prime architect of India's constitution after the nation gained independence. In August of 1947, he chaired the drafting committee appointed to prepare a draft constitution. The draft constitution was submitted and finalized in November, 1949 and came into force on January 26, 1950, the day that India became a republic. In that same year, he became a law minister in the first cabinet after India's independence, but he resigned when Nehru's cabinet refused to pass the Women's Rights Bill.

Ambedkar was justifiably bitter and disenchanted with Hinduism and thus he changed his religion. In October, 1956 he, along with several lakh Dalit men and women, converted to Buddhism in Nagpur. For Ambedkar, the Buddha was one of the main inspiring personality in history who raised a strong voice of protest against inequality between people and between men and women.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar died on December 6, 1956. Dalits will always remember him as their liberator and champion of their rights. "Rights are protected not by laws, but by the social and moral conscience of society," Ambedkar said.

Source: "Constitutional Safeguards for Dalits," A Dalit Bahujan Media Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, (Dec. 1, 2006) www.ambedkar.org (accessed February 16, 2006).

**Handout 8B****Safeguards in the Indian Constitution for Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST)**

The important Constitutional safeguards for SCs & STs are mentioned below:

DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY**Article 46**

A comprehensive article comprising both the developmental and regulatory aspects. It reads as follows:

"The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections, of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

SOCIAL SAFEGUARDS**Article 17**

"Untouchability" is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of "Untouchability" shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

Article 23

Prohibits traffic in human beings and beggars and other similar forms of forced labour and provides that any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. It does not specifically mention SCs & STs but since the majority of bonded labour belong to SCs/STs this Article has a special significance for SCs and STs.

Article 24

Provides that no child below the age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment. There are Central and State laws to prevent child labour. This article too is significant for SCs and STs as a substantial portion, if not the majority, of child labour engaged in hazardous employment belong to SCs and STs.

Article 25(2)(b)

Provides that Hindu religious institutions of a public character shall be thrown open to all classes and sections of Hindus. This provision is relevant as some sects of Hindus used to claim that only members of the concerned sects had a right to enter their temples. This was only a subterfuge to prevent entry of SC persons in such temples. For the purpose of this provision the term Hindu includes Sikh, Jain and Buddhist.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL SAFEGUARDS**Article 15(4)**

Empowers the State to make any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for SC and ST. This provision has enabled the State to reserve seats for SCs and STs in educational institutions including technical, engineering and medical colleges and in Scientific & Specialised Courses.



Handout 8B continued

Article 330

Provides for reservation of seats for SCs/STs in the Lok Sabha.

Article 332

Provides for reservation of seats for SCs/STs in the State Vidhan Sabhas (Legislative Assemblies).

SERVICE SAFEGUARDS

Article 16(4)

Empowers the State to make "any provision for the reservation in appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State."

Article 335

"The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State."

Excerpts from the source: "Constitutional Safeguards for Dalits," A Dalit Bahujaan Media Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, (December 1, 2006), www.ambedkar.org (accessed February 16, 2006).

TERMS

Lok Sabha: Lok Sabha is the People's Assembly, the lower house of the national government. This is the body which elects the Prime Minister. Lok Sabha elections are national.

Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribes: SC refers to Scheduled Castes, ST refers to Scheduled Tribes. The "schedules" are lists of tribes and castes that are eligible for something similar to affirmative action. They receive special consideration in jobs and educational placement. It is only the most disadvantaged who make it onto this list.

Vidhan Sabha: Vidhan Sabha is an elected state legislative assembly.

**Handout 8C****Performance of BSP in 14th Lok Sabha* Election**

The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) claims to represent India's Dalits on a national level, and has formed the government (lead by Mayawati, discussed in the women in politics article) at different times in the largest India state, Uttar Pradesh.

State/UT Constituencies	Contestants	Won
Andhra Pradesh	26	0
Bihar	40	0
Gujarat	20	0
Haryana	10	0
Himachal Pradesh	4	0
Jammu & Kashmir	3	0
Karnataka	9	0
Kerala	14	0
Madhya Pradesh	28	0
Maharashtra	46	0
Orissa	12	0
Punjab	13	0
Rajasthan	24	0
Tamil Nadu	30	0
Uttar Pradesh	80	19
West Bengal	36	0
Chhattisgarh	11	0
Jharkhand	14	0
Uttar Anchal	3	0
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	0
Chandigarh	1	0
Dadra & Nagarhaveli	1	0
Daman & Diu	1	0
National Capital Territory Of Delhi	7	0
Pondicherry	1	0
Total	435	19

* **Lok Sabha:** Lok Sabha is the People's Assembly, the lower house of the national government. This is the body which elects the Prime Minister. Lok Sabha elections are national.

Source: "Performance of the BSP in the 14th Lok Sabha Election," Indian Elections, 2004
www.indian-elections.com/partyprofiles/bsp.html#res (accessed February 16, 2006).

Handout 8D

Delhi Declaration of National Summit on Reservation in the Private Sector On August 9, 2005

On behalf of the 25 crores of people, presently termed as SCs/STs, otherwise called as Dalits and Adivasis, WE, the participants of National Summit on Reservation in Private Sector, held in Delhi on 8th & 9th August 2005 after deliberating the issue of remedies against discrimination, inequality and deprivation of Dalits/Adivasis and other excluded and discriminated communities in private sector unanimously adopt this Declaration on this 9th day of August 2005 at New Delhi.

Inspired and empowered by the Constitution of India which has guaranteed Justice, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, which has abolished untouchability and forbidden discrimination in any form and which has joined the State in the obligation to protect the discriminated communities against the discrimination and undertake special measure for the social, educational and economic development of the marginalised groups of Dalits and Adivasis.

WE HEREBY MAKE OUR DECLARATION

Why do We, Dalits, demand Reservation in Private Sector? Notwithstanding the provisions and mandates in the Constitution of India for the protection and promotion of Dalits and Adivasis, Our lot has only dismally changed. We are extremely concerned about the persisting and perpetuating Caste-based Discrimination; **We are:**

1. Expressing our anguish towards the violent response by dominant castes against the attempts by Dalits to attain equality and human dignity, the Indian society continues to be governed by rules of persecution of caste and untouchability leading to a gross violation of human rights of Dalits.
2. Extremely concerned that about 2,500 to 3,000 cases of untouchability practices and 15,000 cases of atrocities are registered by the police annually ...

Expressing our anguish towards the violent response by dominant castes against the attempts by Dalits to attain equality and human dignity, the Indian society continues to be governed by rules of persecution of caste and untouchability leading to a gross violation of human rights of Dalits.

We protest the continuance of economic inequalities and Social Deprivation of Dalits even today; We are:

6. Confirming that during the last fifty five years the Reservation policy in the public sector and other State sponsored policies for Dalits have brought some positive changes – reflecting in increase in the number of Dalit employees in government services, increase in the enrollment in educational institutions, improvement in literacy rates and also reduction in poverty.
7. Observing that these positive changes have been too small and too slow and the Dalits continue to suffer from high level of deprivation and inequality in the attainment of improved levels of living.
8. Experiencing that despite government programmes, the access to agricultural land and other income earning capital assets to Dalits/Adivasis is extremely low.
12. Due to less access to land, 70% of SC rural households are wage labour, as against only 40% among others (non-SCs/STs).

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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE in Asia

Student Handout

Handout 8D continued

13. Regretting to note that 61.5% illiteracy among Dalits compared to 44.87% illiteracy among others in rural area.
14. Drawing attention to the traditional prohibition of Dalits from undertaking of any business and forcing them to manual scavenging ...
15. Observing like that the Dalit households and farmers face discrimination in the sale of several commodities that vegetables, flowers, fruits, other products including milk, poultry etc. on account of untouchability in rural areas ...
17. Observing that the Dalits continue to suffer from multiple discrimination in various departments of the government, particularly the administration.
18. Observing the exclusion of Dalits/Adivasis from the managing process in all private spheres.

We justify our demand for Reservation Policy in Private Sector while:

19. Endorsing the reservation policy suggested by Babasaheb Ambedkar for private Sector. He has argued as early as in 1947 that "Discrimination against citizens by government officers in public administration or by private employers in factories and commercial concerns on the grounds of race or creed or social status should be treated as offences."

We demand: Reservation Policy for Private Sector to be based on the following clear-cut principles:

26. It should apply to multiple spheres, namely private employment, market, private capital market, agricultural land, private education and housing, access to inputs and services, products and consumer-goods.
27. It should be based on three safeguards:
 - i. Legal Safeguards in the form of Equal Opportunity Laws (including Equal Employment Opportunity laws) or Non-Discrimination Law and should have provisions of Anti-discrimination law in labour, land, capital, consumer goods, education, housing, etc.
 - ii. Quotas in proportion to population to ensure fair participation of Dalits/Adivasis and to give share to Dalits and Adivasis in private employment, private business or capital, access to agricultural land, market inputs, product-market and consumer goods-market and educational institutions.
 - iii. Monitoring Mechanism in the form of Equal Opportunity Commission ...
48. We realise that merely representing the 'interests' of Dalits was not enough and therefore we demand the interests of discriminated communities to be meaningfully protected by their own participation in decision making process at all levels ...

Source: National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights, "Delhi Declaration of National Summit on Reservation in the Private Sector," (August 9, 2005) www.dalits.org/delhideclaration.htm (accessed February 16, 2006).



Lesson 9

Youthful Perspectives from China

DESCRIPTION

Chinese youth have played an important role in Chinese politics over the course of the twentieth century, at times challenging the leadership and at other times, serving as its mouthpiece. The current generation is a product of the One Child Policy as well as economic reforms that have brought prosperity to many Chinese. The political leanings of this generation are often questioned: How do the attitudes of this generation of youth compare to older generations? This lesson asks students to evaluate an opinion poll conducted jointly by the Japanese press and a Chinese government institution, just prior to the protests against Japan last year.

OBJECTIVES

- Read and evaluate statistical data in the form of opinion polls
- Make generalizations about the attitudes and concerns of young people based on the data
- Write statements that accurately summarize the data

FOCUS QUESTIONS

What are some attitudes of Chinese youth towards foreign relations?

What are some opinions of Chinese youth about the domestic economy?

What other information is needed to accurately discuss the attitudes and values of Chinese youth?

MATERIALS

- Copies of Handouts 9A and 9B for the entire class.
- Internet Access

ACTIVITIES

1. Break students into small groups of three or more students. Pass out the Handout 9A of excerpts from the poll done by the Japanese newspaper, Asahi Shinbun, and The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences that shows a sampling of Chinese attitudes about international politics and the domestic economy.
2. Ask students to look at the polls one section at a time and make notes on the questions. Students will be looking for information about the attitudes of Chinese youth in particular. Note: If students are unfamiliar with analyzing statistics, teachers may want to look at the first section as a class.
3. Debrief the activity. What did this activity reveal about young people and their concerns? Based on this data alone, if the group of Chinese youth polled were to be politically active, what kinds of issues do students predict they might get involved in? What are the limitations of this opinion poll for determining the attitudes of youth? What other issues would students like to poll young people about?

EXTENSION

1. Refer back to The Seattle Times article on Chinese youth. The author of the article notes that typically youth today are not as politically engaged as youth in the past. Instead, farmers and factory workers and others with local concerns are often at the forefront of current uprisings. Search The Seattle Times database, seattletimes.nwsources.com, for stories from the past year regarding China and protest. What were the issues and how do they differ from those you read about in the article on youth?

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Lesson 9 continued

Youthful Perspectives from China

2. See similar opinion polls of Japanese and South Korean citizens at the Mansfield Center Web site:
www.mansfieldfdn.org/polls/polls_listing.htm.
A sample is provided in Handout 9B. Compare attitudes of Japanese and Koreans. How do their perceptions of foreign relations compare to Chinese perceptions?

Handout 9A

Dong-A Ilbo Opinion Poll: Special Research on Chinese Attitudes toward Japan and Other Nations

Excerpts of a poll by the Asahi Shinbun Newspaper of Japan and the Institute of Sociology in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences on April 26, 2005. 2,160 Chinese people were surveyed.

SECTION 1: GENERAL OPINION OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Questions for investigation:

- For each table, look at the opinions of students and young adults in their 20s and 30s. How do their attitudes compare to the overall findings?
- Examining all three tables, what general patterns do you see among the attitudes of youth? Can you make any generalizations based on this data?
- China has significant ties to the United States, Japan, South Korea, and North Korea. Write a comparative statement of the attitudes of youth towards these four countries. What might have contributed to their perceptions?
- What questions do you have about this data?

POLL QUESTIONS:

Is your overall opinion of the United States favorable or unfavorable?

Group	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neither	Don't know	Total
Overall	18.3	39.8	40.6	1.3	100.0
Male	19.1	42.2	37.4	1.2	100.0
Female	17.4	37.1	44.2	1.2	100.0
20s	19.7	37.4	41.9	1.0	100.0
30s	20.7	39.6	38.4	1.3	100.0
40s	19.6	38.7	41.3	0.4	100.0
50s	12.5	41.5	43.8	2.2	100.0
60s and Older	11.8	48.2	37.9	2.1	100.0
Middle School Graduate or Lower	12.0	46.0	39.5	2.5	100.0
High School Graduate	20.4	39.2	39.3	1.0	100.0
College or Higher	21.9	34.3	43.7	0.2	100.0

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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE in Asia

Student Handout

Handout 9A - Section 1 continued

Is your overall opinion of Japan favorable or unfavorable?

Group	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neither	Don't know	Total
Overall	7.8	64.1	26.8	1.3	100.0
Male	7.5	68.8	22.3	1.4	100.0
Female	8.1	58.9	31.7	1.4	100.0
20s	10.6	64.1	24.4	0.9	100.0
30s	5.9	66.1	26.4	1.6	100.0
40s	8.9	58.3	32.0	0.8	100.0
50s	6.3	62.9	28.3	2.6	100.0
60s and Older	4.6	73.8	19.5	2.1	100.0
Middle School Graduate or Lower	6.1	61.6	29.7	2.6	100.0
High School Graduate	8.5	63.8	26.4	1.2	100.0
College or Higher	8.5	67.0	24.2	0.3	100.0

Is your overall opinion of South Korea favorable or unfavorable?

Group	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neither	Don't know	Total
Overall	46.5	7.3	45.2	1.0	100.0
Male	45.1	9.0	45.0	1.0	100.0
Female	48.1	5.4	45.4	1.1	100.0
20s	54.7	7.2	37.4	0.7	100.0
30s	45.8	6.5	47.1	0.7	100.0
40s	44.3	7.3	47.6	0.8	100.0
50s	41.2	9.2	47.4	2.2	100.0
60s and Older	37.4	7.2	53.3	2.1	100.0
Middle School Graduate or Lower	38.1	8.2	51.3	2.3	100.0
High School Graduate	49.3	6.4	43.7	0.6	100.0
College or Higher	51.2	7.5	41.0	0.3	100.0

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Student Handout

Handout 9A - Section 1 continued

What is your opinion of North Korea? Is it favorable or unfavorable?

Group	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neither	Don't know	Total
Overall	37.7	9.1	52.0	1.2	100.0
Male	42.6	10.1	46.2	1.1	100.0
Female	32.3	8.0	58.5	1.3	100.0
20s	34.0	8.9	56.4	0.7	100.0
30s	38.8	8.3	51.8	1.1	100.0
40s	37.2	10.9	51.2	0.6	100.0
50s	37.1	8.5	51.8	2.6	100.0
60s and Older	47.2	8.7	42.1	2.1	100.0
Middle School Graduate or Lower	44.6	7.3	45.9	2.2	100.0
High School Graduate	38.1	8.5	52.4	1.0	100.0
College or Higher	30.0	11.8	57.9	0.3	100.0

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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE in Asia

Student Handout

Handout 9A - Section 1 continued

Which country do you feel is most threatening to the security of China? Please choose one.

Group	US	Russia	Japan	North Korea	South Korea	India	Vietnam	Others	No mspecific threat	Don't Know/ No Response	Total
Overall	72.7	0.9	19.4	0.4	0.1	1.2	0.2	0.6	1.2	3.3	100.0
Male	68.9	0.9	23.0	0.7	0.1	2.0	0.1	0.6	1.1	2.6	100.0
Female	77.0	0.9	15.3	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.6	1.3	4.2	100.0
20s	74.2	0.5	19.1	0.3	0.0	2.1	0.2	0.5	1.0	2.1	100.0
30s	72.6	0.7	19.9	0.2	0.2	1.3	0.2	0.5	1.0	3.6	100.0
40s	73.1	1.0	18.6	0.8	0.2	1.2	0.2	1.0	1.2	2.6	100.0
50s	74.3	1.5	18.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.1	3.7	100.0
60s and Older	65.6	1.5	21.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	2.6	7.7	100.0
Middle School Graduate or Lower	72.3	0.8	15.6	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.5	1.4	7.9	100.0
High School Graduate	78.4	0.8	16.0	0.2	0.0	1.2	0.1	0.7	0.8	1.8	100.0
College or Higher	65.1	1.1	28.1	0.5	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.6	1.6	0.8	100.0

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Handout 9A - Section 2

Chinese Economy

QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

For each table, look at the opinions of students and young adults in their 20s and 30s. How do their attitudes compare to the overall findings?

Referring to all tables, do you see general patterns among the attitudes of youth?

Based on this data, what generalizations can you make about people's attitudes toward the economy?

Look at the last table that cites concerns about economic development: What were the most significant concerns? What do you know about China that might explain why rising costs ranked number one?

Make a statement that describes the general outlook of Chinese youth on the economy.

POLL QUESTIONS:

What do you think of the current economic situation in China?

Group	Very Good	Good	Bad	Very Bad	Don't Know/ No Response	Total
Overall	8.8	69.2	18.1	2.9	1.0	100.0
Male	9.3	68.3	18.2	3.4	0.8	100.0
Female	8.1	70.3	17.9	2.3	1.4	100.0
20s	7.4	66.7	22.7	2.1	1.2	100.0
30s	8.8	67.6	19.7	3.1	0.8	100.0
40s	9.3	70.9	15.4	4.0	0.4	100.0
50s	9.6	69.9	15.8	3.3	1.5	100.0
60s and Older	10.3	76.9	8.7	1.5	2.6	100.0
Middle School Graduate or Lower	13.1	68.9	12.1	3.7	2.2	100.0
High School Graduate	8.7	68.2	19.3	3.0	0.8	100.0
College or Higher	4.5	71	22.3	1.9	0.3	100.0

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Student Handout

Handout 9A - Section 2 continued

Which country or region do you think will be the most important for China's economy in the future?

Group	US	Japan	South Korea	Southeast Asia	EU	Others	Don't Know/No Response	Total
Overall	37.5	6	5.8	16.3	28.9	3.4	2.1	100.0
Male	36.3	5.8	5.1	16	32.9	2.6	1.3	100.0
Female	38.8	6.1	6.5	16.8	24.6	4.4	2.8	100.0
20s	30.3	5.5	5.6	18.5	36.4	2.9	0.9	100.0
30s	37.3	5.2	5.4	14.8	33.1	2.9	1.3	100.0
40s	42.3	6.5	5.3	17.6	23.3	3.2	1.8	100.0
50s	43	5.9	7.4	13.6	21.3	4.4	4.4	100.0
60s and Older	40	8.7	6.7	15.4	18.5	5.6	5.1	100.0
Middle School Graduate or Lower	39.7	6.1	8.6	15.1	18.4	6.7	5.6	100.0
High School Graduate	37.2	6.5	5.2	18.1	29.8	2.6	0.7	100.0
College or Higher	35.7	5.1	3.8	15.2	38.6	1.3	0.3	100.0

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**Student Handout****Handout 9A - Section 2 continued**

Currently, China is the seventh largest economic power in the world in terms of its GDP. Do you believe that China is likely to be the world's greatest economic power? Please choose one among the choices.

Group	Yes within 10 years	Within 25 years	Less than 50 years	50 years or later	Never	Don't Know/No Response	Total
Overall	14.2	19.6	19.2	20.6	25.5	0.9	100.0
Male	11	18.1	20.5	22.8	27	0.7	100.0
Female	11.7	21.2	17.8	18.3	23.8	1.1	100.0
20s	12.3	17.3	23.2	25.5	21	0.7	100.0
30s	13.2	21.2	13.5	21.5	24.3	0.3	100.0
40s	14.2	20.6	17.8	18.4	28.1	0.8	100.0
50s	18.8	19.9	14.3	15.8	30.1	1.1	100.0
60s or Older	16.9	18.5	16.4	15.9	29.2	3.1	100.0
Middle School Graduate or Lower	23.5	22.6	15.9	15.1	21.0	2.0	100.0
High School Graduate	12.2	21.8	20.3	19.4	25.7	0.4	100.0
College or Higher	7.5	13.4	21.1	28.1	29.7	0.3	100.0

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**CONTINUITY AND CHANGE**
in Asia**Student Handout****Handout 9A - Section 2 continued**

If you feel worried about China's economic development, which of the following is the closest to your concerns?

Group	Price Rise	Widening Disparity in wealth	Unemployment	Degrading public security	Economic disparities among regions	Moral decadence	Environmental Degradation	No worries	Don't Know/ No Response	Total
Overall	21.0	36.6	14.6	7.5	2.4	6.4	10.0	1.1	0.4	100.0
Male	17.2	40.6	12.8	8.2	3.0	6.3	10.2	1.2	0.4	100.0
Female	25.1	32.2	16.6	6.7	1.8	6.5	9.7	0.9	0.5	100.0
20s	14.0	37.6	16.8	5.6	3.9	8.4	12.8	0.5	0.3	100.0
30s	19.1	39.3	14.2	6.8	2.3	5.9	11.1	1.3	0.2	100.0
40s	26.1	33.6	16.6	8.1	1.6	3.2	9.7	0.6	0.4	100.0
50s	29.0	33.1	12.1	9.2	1.1	8.5	5.1	1.1	0.7	100.0
60s or Older	23.6	37.4	7.7	11.3	2.1	7.7	5.6	3.1	1.5	100.0
Middle School Graduate or Lower	29.1	32.3	12.3	8.6	1.2	5.4	6.8	2.8	1.4	100.0
High School Graduate	21.6	37.9	16.9	7.2	2.0	4.5	9.6	0.4	0.0	100.0
College or Higher	11.8	39.1	13.7	6.9	4.1	10.2	13.9	0.2	0.2	100.0

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**Handout 9A - Section 3**
East Asian Regional Relations

- For each table, look at the opinions of students and young adults in their 20s and 30s. How do the attitudes of youth compare to the overall findings?
- In the first table, look at the list of issues that people polled believe might threaten peace and stability in Asia. What observations do you have about this ranking of security issues? Do you see a correlation between this ranking and the country rankings in tables of previous sections? Would you expect similar sets of ratings below from: The United States? Japan? South Korea? Why or why not?
- Make a statement about what the majority of young Chinese believe is the best way to foster interdependence in Asia. In your opinion, what international current events would this group of young people be most in favor of? Least?

POLL QUESTIONS:

What factors do you think will threaten peace and stability in East Asia – including Southeast Asia?
Choose two among choices.

Group	China/ Taiwan	Presence of U.S. Forces	Territorial Disputes	Japanese Military Power	International Terrorism	The Korean Peninsula	Chinese Military power	Don't Know/ No Response	Total
Overall	67.2	32.5	21.9	20.4	19.7	11.3	10.5	1.4	100.0
Male	67.8	31.5	20.9	24.4	16.2	14.2	9.7	0.7	100.0
Female	66.6	33.3	22.9	16.0	23.6	8.2	11.3	2.1	100.0
20s	68.4	33.3	21.5	22.2	22.4	7.9	10.1	0.5	100.0
30s	65.5	31.9	21.0	21.8	19.2	14	11.4	0.7	100.0
40s	71.5	30.6	22.3	19.2	16.6	10.9	11.5	1.4	100.0
50s	64.7	35.3	21	18	22.1	11	8.5	2.6	100.0
60s or Older	62.1	33.3	25.6	16.9	17.9	14.9	8.7	4.6	100.0
Middle School Graduate or Lower	62.1	35.3	21	13.2	21.3	10.1	12	3.7	100.0
High School Graduate	69.9	32.5	22.5	19.1	19	12	11.2	0.7	100.0
College or Higher	68.7	29.8	21.9	29.7	19.1	11.6	7.8	0.0	100.0

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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE in Asia

Student Handout

Handout 9A - Section 3 continued

Which areas do you believe are the most important for developing interdependence among East Asian countries? Please choose two among choices.

Group	Trade/ Investment	Security	Education	Science, Technology, Medical Service	Environmental measures	Movement of labor	Don't know/ No response	Total
Overall	62.5	36.6	30.1	28.8	13.4	13.1	2.3	100.0
Male	66.5	38.4	25.3	28	14.6	12.3	2	100.0
Female	58	33.9	35.4	29.8	12.1	13.9	2.5	100.0
20s	66.5	28	36.4	27.4	16.8	13.7	0.7	100.0
30s	64.2	38.9	29.8	29.2	12.1	12.2	0.8	100.0
40s	63	41.7	28.1	28.7	12.6	11.1	1.8	100.0
50s	53.7	38.6	25.7	26.5	14	16.5	5.5	100.0
60s or Older	55.9	35.4	23.1	35.9	8.7	13.8	8.2	100.0
Middle School Graduate or Lower	50.5	36.2	30.6	30.5	10.7	12.8	6.4	100.0
High School Graduate	65.1	37.3	28.8	30.3	13.8	13.4	0.9	100.0
College or Higher	71	34.8	31.4	25	15.5	12.9	0.0	100.0

Source: Asahi Shinbun of Japan and The Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), "Dong-A Ilbo Opinion Poll: Special Research on Chinese Attitudes toward Japan and Other Nations," The Mike and Maureen Mansfield Foundation, (April 26, 2005), www.mansfieldfdn.org/polls/polls_listing.htm (accessed February 16, 2006).

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Handout 9B

Peace and Stability in East Asia According to South Koreans and Japanese

SOUTH KOREA – POLL QUESTION:

What factors do you think will threaten peace and stability in East Asia? Choose two among choices.

Group	The Korean Peninsula	Territorial disputes	Japanese military buildup	Terrorism	Presence of U.S. forces	Chinese Military	Tensions over Taiwan Strait
Overall	55.0	36.7	29.8	26.2	21.9	15.7	13.9
Male	53.9	37.0	34.1	23.1	19.5	19.0	12.6
Female	56.1	36.4	25.5	29.2	24.3	12.6	15.2
20s	49.7	35.8	25.6	28.6	25.0	16.3	17.8
30s	54.8	36.8	30.4	26.7	26.7	10.8	13.2
40s	59.2	36.1	31.1	24.6	18.2	17.0	12.9
50s	56.4	35.0	32.4	26.6	19.1	16.7	13.6
60s and Older	53.0	53.0	25.8	16.7	15.2	28.8	6.1
Middle School Graduate or Lower	51.8	37.3	33.2	25.5	21.4	17.3	13.2
High school Graduate	57.8	39.6	29.5	25.4	19.0	13.7	14.3
College and Higher	53.0	32.5	28.4	27.8	25.7	17.9	13.6

Source: Asahi Shinbun of Japan and The Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), "Dong-A Ilbo Opinion Poll on South Korean Attitudes Toward Japan and Other Nations," The Mike and Maureen Mansfield Foundation, (April 26, 2005), www.mansfieldfdn.org/polls/polls_listing.htm (accessed February 16, 2006).

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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE in Asia

Student Handout

Handout 9B continued

JAPAN – POLL QUESTION:

What factors do you think will threaten peace and stability in East Asia? Choose two among choices.

Group	The Korean Peninsula	Territorial disputes	Terrorism	Chinese Military	Tensions over the Taiwan Strait	Presence of U.S. forces	Jap. Milit Build-up	Don't Know/ No Response
Overall	43.1	36.0	31.7	19.3	17.3	14.3	6.5	7.2
Male	51.0	36.8	25.0	23.7	24.9	11.4	5.7	3.1
Female	36.0	35.3	37.7	15.4	10.6	16.9	7.1	10.9
20s	41.9	36.3	42.5	11.2	16.2	20.1	6.7	1.7
30s	56.5	33.2	35.2	16.6	14.3	16.3	5.6	3.3
40s	48.1	38.5	35.7	18.6	18.6	14.8	5.8	4.1
50s	47.6	40.6	29.1	22.1	19.0	13.2	3.6	4.2
60s or Older	32.5	33.5	26.8	21.6	17.6	12.3	8.6	13.6
LDP Supporters	42.7	39.0	31.8	19.4	17.8	11.6	7.5	6.9
Democratic Party Supporters	46.5	37.0	28.8	23.9	23.0	14.0	2.9	2.5
New Komeito Supporters	40.8	32.7	42.9	20.4	6.1	24.5	8.2	4.1
Communist Party Supporters	58.5	19.5	19.5	14.6	12.2	31.7	12.2	4.9
Social Democratic Party Supporters	44.8	44.8	27.6	24.1	24.1	20.7	6.9	0.0
Supporters for Other Parties	50.0	37.5	12.5	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	25.0
Independent/ Non-committed/ Don't know	41.6	34.6	32.7	18.2	16.2	14.5	6.5	9.1

Source: Asahi Shinbun of Japan and The Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), "Dong-A Ilbo Opinion Poll: Special Research on Japanese Attitudes toward China and Other Nations," The Mike and Maureen Mansfield Foundation, (April 26, 2005), www.mansfieldfdn.org/polls/polls_listing.htm (accessed February 16, 2006).

Continuity and Change in Asia

HENRY M. JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

RESOURCES FOR TEACHING ABOUT ASIA

The Asia Outreach Centers of the Jackson School of International Studies offer professional development programs for educators and lending libraries of curriculum materials and films. For current offerings and a list of materials available for loan, please contact the Asia Outreach Centers or visit the centers' Web sites:

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Box 353650
Seattle, Washington 98195-3650
Phone (206) 543-6938
E-mail: eacenter@u.washington.edu
Web site: jsis.washington.edu/eacenter

East Asia Resource Center

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Web site: jsis.washington.edu/earc

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Phone (206) 543-4800
E-mail: sascuw@u.washington.edu
Web site: jsis.washington.edu/soasia

Southeast Asian Center

Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies
University of Washington
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Seattle, Washington 98195-3650
Phone (206) 543-9606
E-mail: seac@u.washington.edu
Web site: jsis.washington.edu/seac

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES FOR TEACHING ABOUT ASIA

The Asia Outreach Centers of the Jackson School of International Studies offer professional development programs for educators and lending libraries of curriculum materials and films. For current offerings and a list of materials available for loan, please contact the Asia Outreach Centers or visit the centers' Web sites:

The American Forum for Global Education

www.globaled.org
The American Forum for Global Education produces print and online curriculum materials about all areas of Asia. An extensive South Asia curriculum is available via the forum at:
www.teachingsouthasia.org/index.asp

Columbia University afe.easia.columbia.edu

Columbia University created "Asia for Educators," an extensive Web site that provides timelines, lesson plans, and online courses in Asian studies.

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Continuity and Change in Asia

Asian Educational Media Service

www.aems.uiuc.edu/index.las

AEMS is a national clearinghouse for information about educational media materials related to Asia. Their up-to-date online media database includes price and distributor information for materials in print, as well as holding and lending information for materials in the U.S.

Asia Source

www.asiasource.org/news

www.asiasource.org

Asia Source is a database created by the Asia Society of country profiles, news, interviews, book reviews, a database of Asia experts and teaching materials.

Education about Asia

www.aasianst.org/ea-toc.htm

The Web site of the journal for educators, Education about Asia, provides key articles for teaching about Asia in secondary and post-secondary classrooms.

The National Consortium for Teaching about Asia

www.nctasia.org

The National Consortium for Teaching about Asia (NCTA) offers seminars, study tours, and enrichment activities to K-12 teachers in forty-six states.

National Clearinghouse for U.S.- Japan Studies

www.indiana.edu/~japan

www.indiana.edu/~japan/lessons.html

The National Clearinghouse for U.S.-Japan Studies at Indiana University specializes in providing educational information about Japan to K-12 students and teachers. Teaching materials are available for downloading free of charge.

Pacific Village Institute

www.pacificvillage.org

Pacific Village Institute is a Seattle- and New York-based nonprofit organization that offers teacher and student programs with the goal of connecting global citizens through cultural immersion, community service, and collaborative projects in the developing countries of Asia.

Seattle Asian Art Museum

www.seattleartmuseum.org/visit/visitSAAM.asp

The Seattle Asian Art Museum features a collection of artifacts from many historical periods and regions of Asia. Print curriculum materials about a variety of genres and periods in Asian art are available in the Teacher Resource Center at the museum in Volunteer Park.

Stanford Program on International Cross-Cultural Education

spice.stanford.edu

SPICE provides high-quality curriculum materials on international and cross-cultural topics, many concerning East Asia. Over one hundred supplementary print curriculum units on Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Europe, Latin America, and international issues are available from this Stanford-University-based program.

World Affairs Council

www.world-affairs.org

The World Affairs Council is a membership-based organization that creates forums for discussion of critical world issues. Curriculum materials about global issues are available for downloading free of charge.



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